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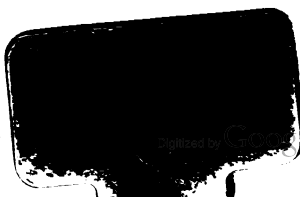
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**ANDREW JACKSON.**

President of the United States of America. Digitized by Google

**LIFE**  
**OF**  
**ANDREW JACKSON,**  
**PRESIDENT**  
**OF**  
**THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

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**ABRIDGED AND COMPILED**

**By WILLIAM COBBETT, M. P. FOR OLDHAM.**

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**WITH AN INTERESTING FRONTISPIECE, INCLUDING A  
PORTRAIT.**

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**LONDON :**

**PUBLISHED AT 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET;  
AND MAY BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.**

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**1834.**

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## EXPLANATION OF THE FRONTISPIECE.

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(ABOVE THE PORTRAIT.)

*Part of the City of New Orleans, with the flag of the United States upon the citadel; surrounded by a rampart of cotton-bags, with the Tennessee militia-men and the other patriot defenders firing from behind the cotton-bags upon the British, who are falling in all quarters and escaping to the sea, whereon some are already in boats, rowing off to the fleet, which is setting sail for Old England.*

*N. B. The figure in the foreground, of a man, heels upwards and dying-horse under him, represents Packenham, the commander and brother-in-law of Wellington.*

(UNDER THE PORTRAIT.)

*On one side, an Indian Chief, hanging to a gibbet, his tomahawk, scalping knife and horn, on the ground. On the other side, a Jew, suspended in like manner, and a bank-note of five dollars lying in the same manner as the murderous, but less destructive instrument of the savage.*



# **DEDICATION**

**TO THE**

**WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

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**MY FRIENDS,**

EVER since I became acquainted with the nature and extent of the ill-treatment of the people of Ireland, I have availed myself of every opportunity to endeavour to show, that I held their persecutors in abhorrence. I now dedicate to you a history of the life of the bravest and greatest man now living in this world, or that ever has lived in this world, as far as my knowledge extends. It has given me

pleasure, which I cannot describe, to find that this famous man sprang from poor emigrant Irish parents; and that he was born in the United States of America two years after the landing of his parents. You will read, with uncommon interest, the clear proof of his having been urged on to perform the wonderful acts of his life, by his recollection of the ill-treatment of his parents in their native land. For more than two hundred years, the laborious Irish people were scourged, because, and only because, they would not apostatize from the religion of their fathers; and, even unto this day, every effort is made to keep them down, and to represent them as an inferior race of men. It is, therefore, in the name of truth and of justice, that I send this book forth amongst the people of this whole kingdom, to prove to them, that this ill-treated Ireland, this trampled-upon Ireland, has produced the greatest soldier and the greatest statesman, whose name has ever yet appeared upon the records of valour and of wisdom. According to all the laws of all na-

tions, a man, though born in a foreign country, if born of parents natives of another country, is a native of the country to which the parents belong. Thus this famous man is an *Irishman*; and, I beseech you to look at his deeds, and to applaud that just Providence, which has made him an instrument, though in a manner so indirect, of assisting to avenge the manifold wrongs of ill-treated Ireland.

I am,

Your faithful friend

and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

*Bolt Court, 27th March, 1834.*



## PREFACE.

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AMONGST all the duties of men who meddle with public affairs, and who have any portion of the press at their command, no one is more obligatory upon them than that of endeavouring, by all the means that they have in their power, to do justice to the character and conduct of those, who, during their own time especially, have rendered eminent services in the cause of public justice and public liberty; and, amongst all the men who have distinguished themselves in this way, in the present age, I know of no one who can challenge any thing like an equality with him, whose life and actions are the subject of the following pages.

There may have been men placed in situations as difficult and as dangerous as those in which he has been placed. There may have been men who have shown courage, fortitude, perseverance, and resolution, equal to those shown by him. This may be; but, at the end of pretty nearly seventy years of observing, of



hearing, and of reading, I declare most explicitly, I have never seen, never heard of, and never read of, any man equal to the President in these prime and admirable qualities. These pages trace him from the spade and the plough to the musket carried against invaders, aiming at the destruction of the liberties of his country : from the musket they take him back to his books ; then take him to the bar ; then place him on the bench ; then send him to the senate ; afterwards lead us to see him on his farm, whence, when another invasion of his country took place, they show him quitting his beloved fields, again rushing to meet hostile foes ; and, having delivered his country of those foes, we are led with him back again to his farm, whence he is again called to take upon him the chief magistracy of a great and opulent and a free country, and that, too, by the unanimous voice of millions of free men.

Thus honoured ; thus confided in ; thus placed in a more honourable situation than any other man upon the face of the earth, we see him acting a part worthy of his high station. The angry, the bitter, the implacable, the heretofore-deemed-all-powerful British government, he had repulsed ; he had humbled : the savage tribes, the cannibal foes of his country, he had scourged with rods of scorpions ; if he had not tamed them into humanity, he had made fear sheathe their hatchets and their scalping knives : but, in his capacity of chief magistrate ; in his capacity of chief guardian of the civil and political rights, and of the property and lives of his countrymen, he had to deal with a monster more formidable, and more destructive

to the people, than either the British or the savages : a monster perfectly insatiable ; hypocritical as the crocodile ; delusive as the syren ; and deadly as the rattlesnake itself. The monster of paper money he has now to encounter. This is his last great labour : if this monster fall beneath him, no pen, no tongue, no vehicle of praise can ever render justice to his name. Some poet has said, that the grandest spectacle that the human mind can conceive is, “ a great man struggling with the storms of fate.” It is a greater still to see a great man struggling ; to see the greatest of men now alive, struggling with the most cruel and destructive monster that ever the Almighty, in his just displeasure, permitted to be the scourge of offending nations.

It is with no small delight that I see, in the following pages, proofs undeniable of the superiority of nature over art, of genius over rank and over riches : it is with pride, and with just pride, I trust, that I behold all that is great in the character of man, springing out of the humble homestead ; but it is with still greater, and with inexpressible delight, that I see it spring from poor IRISH EMIGRANT PARENTS, driven from their native land by its inexorable oppressors. Ah ! God is just, in spite of our ungrateful impatience. No man living ever did so much to humble England as ANDREW JACKSON ; and these pages will show us how his zeal was sharpened, how his anger was pointed, by the lessons taught him by his ill-treated parents, and by the cruelty and insolence which he had to endure from the same source. Arrogance and injustice, when associated with power, never listen to reason or remon-

strance as long as the power lasts. If they were capable of listening, I would bid the oppressors of the poor people of Ireland to read these pages ; and to remember that the country which produced ANDREW JACKSON, still retains the faculty of giving life to other such men.

WM. COBBETT.

*Bolt Court, London, 27th March, 1834.*

N. B. The *Table of Contents* and other references will be found at the end of the volume. The paragraphs are numbered for the purpose of reference.

# THE LIFE

OF

## ANDREW JACKSON.

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### CHAPTER I.

FROM 1767 TO 1812.

*1767. His birth and parentage.—1781. Enters the American revolutionary army.—Cruelty of a British officer.—Death of his brother and mother.—His sufferings.—1784. Studies the law in North Carolina.—Continues there till 1786.—1788. Settles in Tennessee as a barrister.—Distinguishes himself in fighting the Indians.—1796. Chosen a member of the Tennessee Convention.—Elected a member of Congress.—1797. Chosen a Senator of the Congress.—1798. Made major-general of Tennessee.—Resigns his seat in the senate.—1799. Appointed a judge of the supreme court.—Soon resigns and retires to his farm, where he remains till the breaking out of the war, in 1812, between the United States and Great Britain.*

I. ANDREW JACKSON was born on the 15th day of March, 1767. His father (Andrew), the youngest son of his family, emigrated to America from Ireland during the year 1765, bringing with him two sons, Hugh and Robert, both very young. Landing at Charleston, in South Carolina, he shortly afterwards purchased a tract of land, in what was then called the Waxsaw settlement, about forty-five miles above Camden ; at which place the subject of this history was born. Shortly after his birth, his father died, leaving three sons to be provided for by their mother. She appears to have been an exemplary woman, and to have executed the arduous duties which had devolved on her, with great faithfulness and with much success. To the lessons she inculcated on the youthful minds of her

sons, was, no doubt, owing, in a great measure, that fixed opposition to British tyranny and oppression, which afterwards so much distinguished them. Often would she spend the winter's evenings in recounting to them the sufferings of their grandfather at the siege of Carrickfergus, and the oppressions exercised by the nobility of Ireland, over the labouring poor; impressing it upon them, as a first duty, to expend their lives, if it should become necessary, in defending and supporting the natural rights of man.

2. Inheriting but a small patrimony from their father, it was impossible that all the sons could receive an expensive education. The two eldest were therefore only taught the rudiments of their mother tongue, at a common country school. But Andrew, being intended by his mother for the ministry, was sent to a flourishing academy at the Waxsaw meeting-house, superintended by Mr. Humphries. Here he was placed on the study of the dead languages, and continued until the revolutionary war, extending its ravages into that section of South Carolina where he then was, rendered it necessary that every one should betake himself to the American standard, seek protection with the enemy, or flee his country. It was not an alternative that admitted of a tedious deliberation. The natural ardour of his temper, deriving encouragement from the recommendations of his mother, whose feelings were not less alive on the occasion than his own; and excited by those sentiments in favour of liberty, with which, by her conversation, his mind had been early endued, quickly determined him in the course to be pursued; and at the tender age of fourteen, accompanied by his brother Robert, he hastened to the American camp, and engaged actively in the service of his country. His oldest brother, who had previously joined the army, had lost his life at the battle of Stono, from the excessive heat of the weather, and the fatigues of the day.

3. Both Andrew and Robert were, at this period, pretty well acquainted with the manual exercise, and had some idea of the different evolutions of the field, having been indulged by their mother in attending the drill and general musters of the neighbourhood.

4. The Americans being unequal, as well from the inferiority of their numbers as their discipline, to engage the British army in battle, had retired before it into the interior of North Carolina; but when they learned that Lord Cornwallis had crossed the Yadkin, they returned in small detachments to their native state. On their arrival they found Lord Rawdon in possession

of Camden, and the whole country around in a state of desolation. The British commander being advised of the return of the settlers of Waxsaw, Major Coffin was immediately dispatched thither, with a corps of light dragoons, a company of infantry, and a considerable number of tories, for their capture and destruction. Hearing of their approach, the settlers, without delay, appointed the Waxsaw meeting-house as a place of rendezvous, that they might the better collect their scattered strength, and concert some system of operations. About forty of them had accordingly assembled at this point, when the enemy approached, keeping the tories, who were dressed in the common garb of the country, in front, whereby this little band of patriots was completely deceived, having taken them for Captain Nisbet's company, in expectation of which they had been waiting. Eleven of them were taken prisoners; the rest with difficulty fled, scattering and betaking themselves to the woods for concealment. Of those who thus escaped, though closely pursued, were Andrew Jackson and his brother, who entering a secret bend in a creek, that was close at hand, obtained a momentary respite from danger, and avoided, for the night, the pursuit of the enemy. The next day, however, having gone to a neighbouring house, for the purpose of procuring something to eat, they were broken in upon, and made prisoners, by Coffin's dragoons, and a party of tories who accompanied them. Those young men, with a view to security, had placed their horses in the wood, on the margin of a small creek, and posted, on the road which led by the house, a sentinel, that they might have information of any approach, and in time to be able to elude it. But the tories, who were well acquainted with the country and the passes through the forest, had unfortunately passed the creek at the very point where the horses and baggage of our young soldiers were deposited, and taken possession of them. Having done this, they approached cautiously the house, and were almost at the door before they were discovered. To escape was impossible, and both were made prisoners. Being placed under guard, Andrew was ordered, in a very imperious tone, by a British officer, to clean his boots, which had become muddied in crossing the creek. This order he positively and peremptorily refused to obey; alleging that he looked for such treatment as a prisoner of war had a right to expect. Incensed at his refusal, the officer aimed a blow at his head with a drawn sword, which would very probably have terminated his existence had he not parried its effects by throwing up his left hand, on which he received a severe wound, the mark of which he bears

to this hour. His brother, at the same time, for a similar offence, received a deep cut on the head, which subsequently occasioned his death. They were both now taken to jail, where, separated and confined, they were treated with marked severity, until a few days after the battle before Camden, when, in consequence of a partial exchange, effected by the intercessions and exertions of their mother, and Captain Walker, of the militia, they were both released from confinement. Captain Walker had, in a charge on the rear of the British army, succeeded in making thirteen prisoners, whom he gave in exchange for seven Americans, of which number were these two young men. Robert, during his confinement in prison, had suffered greatly; the wound on his head, all this time, having never been dressed, was followed by an inflammation of the brain, which, in a few days after his liberation, brought him to the grave. To add to the afflictions of Andrew, his mother, worn down by grief, and her incessant exertions to provide clothing and other comforts for the suffering prisoners, who had been taken from her neighbourhood, expired in a few weeks after her son, near the lines of the enemy, in the vicinity of Charleston. Andrew, the last and only surviving child, confined to a bed of sickness, occasioned by the sufferings he had been compelled to undergo whilst a prisoner, and by getting wet, on his return from captivity, was thus left in the wide world, without a human being, with whom he could claim a near relationship. The small-pox, about the same time, having made its appearance upon him, had well nigh terminated his sorrows and his existence.

5. Having at length recovered from his complicated afflictions, he entered upon the enjoyment of his estate, which, although small, would have been sufficient, under prudent management, to have completed his education, on the liberal scale which his mother had designed. Unfortunately, however, he, like too many young men, sacrificing future prospects to present gratification, expended it with rather too profuse a hand. Coming, at length, to foresee that he should be finally obliged to rely on his own exertions for support and success in life, he again betook himself to his studies with increased industry. He re-commenced under Mr. M'Culloch, in that part of Carolina which was then called the New Acquisition, near Hill's iron works. Here he studied the languages, devoting a portion of his time to a desultory course of studies.

6. His education being now completed, so far as his wasted patrimony, and the limited opportunities then afforded in that section of the country, would permit, at the age of eighteen, he

turned his attention to acquiring a profession, and preparing himself to enter on the busy scenes of life. The pulpit, for which he had been designed by his mother, was now abandoned for the bar; and, in the winter of 1784, he repaired to Salisbury, in North Carolina, and commenced the study of law, under Spruce M'Cay, Esq. (afterwards one of the judges of that state), and subsequently continued it under Colonel John Stokes. Having remained at Salisbury until the winter of 1786, he obtained a license from the judges to practise law, and continued in the state until the spring of 1788.

7. The observations he was enabled, during this time, to make, satisfied him that this state presented few inducements to a young attorney; and recollecting that he stood a solitary individual in life, without relations to aid him in the onset, when innumerable difficulties arise and retard success, he determined to seek a new country. But for this, he might have again returned to his native state; the death, however, of every relation he had, had wiped away all those endearing recollections and circumstances which warp the mind to the place of its nativity. The western parts of the state of Tennessee were, about this time, often spoken of, as presenting flattering prospects to adventurers. He immediately determined to accompany Judge M'Nairy thither, who had been appointed, and was going out to hold the first supreme court that had ever sat in the state. Having reached the Holston, they ascertained it would be impossible to arrive at the time appointed for the session of the court; and therefore determined to remain in that section of country until fall. They re-commenced their journey in October, and, passing through an extensive uninhabited country, reached Nashville in the same month. It had not been Jackson's intention, certainly, to make Tennessee the place of his future residence; his visit was merely experimental, and his stay remained to be determined by the advantages that might be disclosed: but finding, soon after his arrival, that a considerable opening was offered for the success of a young attorney, he determined to remain. To one of refined feelings, the prospect before him was, certainly, not of an encouraging cast. As in all newly-settled countries must be the case, society was loosely formed, and united by but few of those ties which have a tendency to enforce the performance of moral duty and the right execution of justice. The young men of the place, adventurers from different sections of the country, had become indebted to the merchants: there was but one lawyer in the country, and they had so contrived as to retain him in their



business; the consequence was, that the merchants were entirely deprived of the means of enforcing against those gentlemen the execution of their contracts. In this state of things, Jackson made his appearance at Nashville, and while the creditor class looked to it with great satisfaction, the debtors were sorely displeased. Applications were immediately made to him for his professional services, and on the morning after his arrival he issued seventy writs. To those prodigal gentlemen it was an alarming circumstance; their former security was impaired; but that it might not wholly depart, they determined to force him, in some way or other, to leave the country; and to effect this, broils and quarrels with him were to be resorted to. This, however, was soon abandoned; satisfied, by the first controversy in which they had involved him, that his decision and firmness were such as to leave no hope of effecting any thing through this channel. Disregarding the opposition raised to him, he continued, with care and industry, to press forward in his professional course; and his attention soon brought him forward, and introduced him to a profitable practice. Shortly afterwards, he was appointed attorney general for the district, in which capacity he continued to act for several years.

8. Indian depredations being then frequent on the Cumberland, every man, of necessity, became a soldier. Unassisted by the Government, the settlers were forced to rely for security on their own bravery and exertions. Although young, no person was more distinguished than Andrew Jackson in defending the country against these predatory incursions of the savages, who continually harassed the frontiers, and not unfrequently approached the heart of the settlements, which were thin, but not widely extended. He aided alike in garrisoning the forts, and in pursuing and chastising the enemy.

9. In the year 1796, having, by his patriotism, firmness, and talents, secured to himself a distinguished standing with all classes, he was chosen one of the members of the convention, for establishing a constitution for the state. His good conduct and zeal for the public interest, and the republican feelings and sentiments which were conspicuously disclosed in the formation and arrangement of this instrument, brought him more prominently to view; and, without proposing or soliciting, he was, in the same year, elected a member of the house of representatives, in congress, for the state of Tennessee. The following year, his reputation continuing to increase, and every bosom feeling a wish to raise him to still higher honours, he was chosen a senator of the United States congress, and took his seat on

the 22nd day of November, 1797. About the middle of April, business of an important and private nature imposed on him the necessity of asking leave of absence, and returning home. Leave was granted, and, before the next session, he resigned his seat. He was but a little more than thirty years of age; and hence scarcely eligible by the constitution at the time he was elected. The sedition law, about which so much concern and feeling have been manifested through the country, was introduced into the senate, by Mr. Lloyd, of Maryland, in June 1798, and passed that body on the 4th of July following; hence the name of Jackson, owing to the leave of absence which had been granted him in April, does not appear on the journals. On the alien law, however, and the effort to repeal the stamp act, he was present, resting in the minority, and on the side of the republican principles of the country.

10. The state of Tennessee, on its admission into the Union, comprising but one military division, and General Conway, who commanded it, as major-general, dying about this time, Jackson, without being consulted on the subject, and without the least intimation of what was in agitation, was, as the constitution of the state directs, chosen by the field officers to succeed him; which appointment he continued to hold until May, 1814, when he was constituted a major-general in the United States' service.

11. Becoming tired of political life, for the intrigues of which he declared himself unqualified, and having for two years voted in the minority in congress, he resigned, after the first session, his seat in the senate. To this measure he was strongly induced, from a desire to make way for General Smith, who, he conjectured, would in that capacity be able to render more important services to the government than himself. His country, unwilling that his talents should remain inactive and unemployed, again demanded his services. Immediately after his resignation, he was appointed one of the judges of the supreme court of the state: Sensibly alive to the difficult duties of this station, distrusting his legal acquirements, and impressed with the great injury he might produce to suitors, by erroneous decisions, he advanced to the office with reluctance, and in a short time resigned, leaving it open for those, who, he believed, were better qualified than himself, to discharge its intricate and important duties. Unambitious of these distinctions and honours which young men are usually proud to possess; finding too that his circumstances and condition in life were not such as to permit his time and attention to be devoted to public matters, he

determined to yield them into others' hands, and to devote himself to agricultural pursuits; and accordingly settled himself on an excellent farm, ten miles from Nashville, on the Cumberland river; where, for several years, he enjoyed all the comforts of domestic and social intercourse. Abstracted from the busy scenes of public life, pleased with retirement, surrounded by friends whom he loved, and who entertained for him the highest veneration and respect, and blessed with an amiable and obedient wife, nothing seemed wanting to the completion of that happiness which he so anxiously desired whilst in office.

## CHAPTER II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1812, TO THE MONTH OF MAY OF THAT YEAR.

*He is roused from his retirement by the war with Great Britain.—Assembles 2500 volunteers.—Descends the Mississippi 300 miles.—Encamps near the Natches, to be ready to defend that part of the country from invaders.—The danger of invasion appears to be removed.—Is ordered to give up his stores to the regular army stationed there.—Refuses to comply with the order.—Fulfills his compact with his volunteers, by taking them back safely to their own homes.*

12. THE repose of JACKSON, and the pleasures derived from his farm, were now destined to be abandoned for the duties of public life. After many years of negotiation and entreaty with Great Britain; after forbearance such as no country in the world ever showed before, the Congress, unanimously called upon by the sound people of that country for the purpose, declared war against Great Britain, on the grounds clearly set forth in my "*History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*," and particularly in the paragraph 297 of that history.

13. The government of the United States, during the same year in which they declared the war, made preparations for calling out volunteers for the defence of the country. JACKSON, then happy on his farm, in the neighbourhood of Nashville, which lies about the middle of the fine State of Tennessee, which is bounded to the north by Kentucky, to the east by the Alleghany mountains, to the south by the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and to the west by the great river Mis-

Mississippi; JACKSON, happy on his farm, in the midst of this fine and flourishing state; and retired, as he apparently thought, for ever, from all public affairs, though only forty-five years of age; retired, as he thought, for ever, was again roused by the insults offered to his country; by the wrongs inflicted upon her citizens; and by the recollection, no doubt, of the death of his mother, of the death of his brother ROBERT, of the cause of those deaths; and, if he could have forgotten the horrid account of the injuries inflicted upon the country of his father and his mother, there was that scar on his hand, inflicted by a British officer, who had aimed a blow at his life, because he had refused to clean the dirt off his boots; there was that scar to keep his virtuous resentment alive, even if he could have forgotten the wrongs of Ireland, and the ruin and extermination of every relation in the world.

14. Nevertheless, he did not seek a command in the regular army which was about to be raised; but the congress having passed an act, in February, and another in July, 1812, authorizing the President (then MADISON) to accept of the services of fifty thousand volunteers, he addressed the citizens of his division, and twenty-five hundred flocked to his standard. A tender of them having been made, and the offer accepted, in November, 1812, he received orders to place himself at their head and to descend the Mississippi, for the defence of the lower country, which was then supposed to be in danger. Accordingly, on the 16th of December, 1812, those troops rendezvoused at Nashville, prepared to advance to the place of their destination; and, although the weather was then excessively severe, and the ground covered with snow, no troops could have displayed greater firmness. The general was everywhere with them, inspiring them with the ardour that animated his own bosom. The cheerful spirit with which they submitted to hardships, and bare privations, on the very onset of their military career, as well as the order and subordination they so readily observed, were happy presages of what was to be expected, when they should be directed to face an enemy.

15. Natches is a town on the banks of the Mississippi, full three hundred miles from Nashville, and about a hundred miles from New Orleans, which is near the mouths of the Mississippi. Natches was the place of rendezvous. He arrived there in the month of January; and, very soon afterwards, there took place a transaction which gave the government of the United States a specimen of that inflexibility of character in him, which has since been so fully developed, under circum-

stances of greater peril than any other man has ever had to encounter.

16. Having procured supplies, and made the necessary arrangements for an active campaign, they proceeded, the 7th of January 1813, on their journey; and, descending the Ohio and Mississippi, through cold and ice, arrived and halted at Natches. Here JACKSON had been instructed to remain, until he should receive further orders. Having chosen a healthy site for the encampment of his troops, he devoted his time, with the utmost industry, to training and preparing them for active service. The clouds of war, however, in that quarter, having blown over, an order was received from the secretary of war, dated the 5th of January, 1813, directing him, on the receipt thereof, to dismiss those under his command from service, and to take measures for delivering over every article of public property, in his possession, to Brigadier-General Wilkinson. When this order reached his camp, there were one hundred and fifty on the sick report, fifty-six of whom were unable to raise their heads, and almost the whole of them destitute of the means of defraying the expenses of their return. The consequence of a strict compliance with the secretary's order, inevitably would have been, that many of the sick must have perished, whilst most of the others, from their destitute condition, would, of necessity, have been compelled to enlist in the regular army, under General Wilkinson. Such alternatives were neither congenial with their general's wishes, nor such as they had expected, on adventuring with him in the service of their country; he had carried them from home, and, the fate of war and disease apart, it was his duty, he believed, to bring them back. Whether an expectation that, by this plan, many of them would be compelled into the regular ranks, had formed any part of the motive that occasioned the order for their discharge, at so great a distance from home, cannot be known; and it would be uncharitable to insinuate against the government so serious and foul an accusation, without the strongest evidence to support it. Be this as it may, General JACKSON could not think of sacrificing or injuring an army that had shown such devotedness to their country; and he determined to disregard the order, and march them again to their homes, where they had been embodied, rather than discharge them where they would be exposed to the greatest hardships and dangers. To this measure he was prompted, not only by the reasons already mentioned, but by the consideration, that many of the troops under his command were young men, the children of his neighbours and acquaint-

ances, who had delivered them into his hands, as to a guardian, who, with parental solicitude, would watch over and protect their welfare. To have abandoned them, therefore, at such a time, and under such circumstances, would have drawn on him the merited censure of the most deserving part of his fellow-citizens, and sensibly wounded his own generous feelings. Add to this, those young men who were confined by sickness, learning the nature of the order he had received, implored him, with tears in their eyes, not to abandon them in so great an extremity, reminding him, at the same time, of his assurances, that he would be to them as a father; and of the implicit confidence they had placed in his word. This was an appeal which it would have been difficult for the feelings of Jackson to have resisted, had it been without the support of other weighty considerations; but, influenced by them all, he had no hesitation in coming to a determination.

17. Having made known his resolution to the field officers of his division, it met, apparently, their approbation; but, after retiring from his presence, they assembled late at night, in secret caucus, and proceeded to recommend to him an abandonment of his purpose, and an immediate discharge of his troops. Great as was the astonishment which this measure excited in the general, it produced a still higher sentiment of indignation. In reply, he urged the duplicity of their conduct, and reminded them, that although to those who possessed funds and health, such a course could produce no inconvenience, yet to the unfortunate soldier, who was alike destitute of both, no measure could be more calamitous. He concluded by telling them, that his resolution not having been hastily concluded on, nor bottomed on light considerations, was unalterably fixed; and that immediate preparations must be made for carrying into execution the determination he had formed.

18. He lost no time in making known to the secretary of war the resolution he had adopted; to disregard the order he had given, and to return his army to the place where he had received it. He painted in strong terms the evils which the course pursued by the government was calculated to produce, and expressed the astonishment he felt, that it should have originated with the once redoubted advocate of soldiers' rights.

19. General Wilkinson, to whom the public property was directed to be delivered, learning the determination which had been taken by Jackson, to march his troops back, and to take with them so much of that property as should be necessary to their return, in a letter of solemn and mysterious import, ad-

monished him of the consequences which were before him, and of the awful and dangerous responsibility he was taking on himself by so bold a measure. General Jackson replied, that his conduct, and the consequences to which it might lead, had been deliberately weighed, and well considered, and that he was prepared to abide the result, whatever it might be. Wilkinson had previously given orders to his officers, to recruit from Jackson's army; they were advised, however, on their first appearance, that those troops were already in the service of the United States, and that thus situated, they should not be enlisted; and that he would arrest and confine the first officer who dared to enter his encampment with any such object in view.

20. The quarter-master, having been ordered to furnish the necessary transportation, for the conveyance of the sick and the baggage to Tennessee, immediately set about the performance of the task; but, as the event proved, with not the least intention of executing it. Still, he continued to keep up the semblance of exertion; and the better to deceive, the very day before that which had been appointed for breaking up the encampment, and commencing the return march, eleven wagons arrived there by his order. The next morning, however, when every thing was about to be packed up, acting doubtless from orders, and intending to produce embarrassment, the quarter-master entered the encampment, and discharged the whole. He was grossly mistaken in the man he had to deal with, and had now played his tricks too far to be able to accomplish the object which he had, no doubt, been instructed to effect. Disregarding their dismissal, so evidently designed to prevent his marching back his men, General Jackson seized upon these wagons, yet within his lines, and compelled them to proceed to the transportation of his sick. It deserves to be recollected, that this quarter-master, so soon as he received directions for furnishing transportation, had dispatched an express to General Wilkinson: and there can be but little doubt, that the course of duplicity he afterwards pursued, was a concerted plan between him and that general, to defeat the design of Jackson; compel him to abandon the course he had adopted; and, in this way, draw to the regular army many of the soldiers, who, from necessity, would be driven to enlist. In this attempt, they were fortunately disappointed. Adhering to his original purpose, he successfully resisted every stratagem of Wilkinson, and marched the whole of his division to the section of country whence they had been drawn, and dismissed them from service, as he had been instructed.

21. To present an example that might buoy up the sinking spirits of his troops, in the long and arduous march before them, he yielded up his horses to the sick, and, trudging on foot, encountered all the hardships that were met by the soldiers. It was, at a time of year when the roads were extremely bad, and the swamps, lying in their passage, deep and full; yet, under those circumstances, he placed before his troops an example of patience and hardship that lulled to silence all complaints, and won to him, still stronger than before, the esteem and respect of every one. On arriving at Nashville, he communicated to the president of the United States the course he had pursued, and the reasons that had induced it. If it had become necessary, he had sufficient grounds on which he could have justified his conduct. Had he suffered General Wilkinson to have accomplished what was clearly his intention, although it was an event which might at the moment have benefited the service, by adding an increased strength to the army, yet the example would have been of so serious and exceptionable a character, that injury would have been the final and unavoidable result. Whether the intention of thus forcing these men to enlist into the regular ranks, had its existence under the direction of the government, or not, such would have been the universal belief; and all would have felt a deep abhorrence at beholding the patriots of the country drawn off from their homes, under pretence of danger; whilst the concealed design was, by increasing their necessities, at a distance from their residence, to compel them to an act which they would have abstained from under different circumstances. His conduct, terrible as it first appeared, was in the end approved, and the expenses incurred directed to be paid by the government.

22. It may be prudent, and it is doubtless patriotic, to smother this affair up in this manner, in the United States, and especially when the writer is a member of the congress; but I have no motive to smother up a transaction so abominably unjust. The truth is, that this odious attempt at a violation of compact, arose from the dirty envy of General Armstrong, the secretary at war, of Wilkinson, the commanding general, and of all those officers of the United States army who had not the courage to imitate; who had not the skill and perseverance to rival; and who had not the honesty to acknowledge the superior merit of Jackson. Every man, whose heart is the seat of justice, will applaud him for stubbornly resisting these crafty suggestions of envy; and it should be told here, that Armstrong, who gave the order for this act of oppression, was disgraced and



degraded, not many months afterwards, for his scandalous neglect to prepare for the defence of the city of Washington, where he was residing; and that Wilkinson, who was appointed to put the order into execution, and to supplant Jackson, was sufficiently disgraced, in less than two years from that day, on the confines of Canada. But there never was a man yet, in this world, whom every one knew to be full of talent, full of zeal, and devotedly disinterested to the cause of his country: there never yet was such a man who was not hated and conspired against by all the swarm of men of small merit, and, especially, by every selfish and sham patriot.

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### CHAPTER III.

FROM MAY, 1813, TO APRIL, 1814.

*His Indian campaign.—Battle after battle.—Discontent in his army after discontent.—Proof after proof of fortitude and resolution, each meriting the admiration of all mankind.*

23. JACKSON, having taken his volunteers safely back to their own country, he discharged them, there being little or no expectation of their being wanted again. It ought to be observed, because it will by-and-by be found to be of great importance, that these volunteers had been engaged to serve *one year out of two*, to be computed from the day of rendezvous, unless sooner discharged; that is to say, they engaged to be at the command of the government for the space of two years from the time of the first rendezvous; unless they should, before the end of the two years, have performed *one year's service*. I beg the reader to bear this in mind, for he will, by-and-by, find it leading to perils such as no man but Jackson ever encountered: or, at any rate, such as no man but Jackson ever overcame.

24. There was, at this time (May 1813), no appearance that British hostility would bear against any part of Louisiana, in which New Orleans is situated. But the repose of Jackson and his volunteers was not of long duration; for the savages, instigated by an impostor who went amongst them calling himself a prophet, who gave them assurances of the aid and protection of Great Britain, whose power and riches he represented as

without bounds : the savages thus instigated, these wretches, of several different nations, as they are called, made incursions into the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, and other parts, committing murders and cruelties the most horrible ; they slaughtered women and children with the most savage barbarity. It was absolutely necessary to punish these bloody monsters ; and, therefore, first the government of the state of Tennessee, and, afterwards, the general government, authorized war and an infliction of punishment on these monsters ; and all eyes were turned upon Jackson to put an end to this horrible warfare.

24. He, therefore, called upon his volunteers, who had followed him to the Natches in the spring of the year ; and he appointed the 4th of October (1813) for them to meet him, armed and equipped for active service. He immediately commenced war upon these murderous savages ; and here I must desire the English reader to prepare himself for a series of transactions, wholly incredible, were they not attested by piles of official documents, the authenticity of which no man can dispute. It would be useful to the English government, the English parliament, and bands of paper-money makers, who are looking to legal tender ; it would be useful to them to look minutely at the transactions of this Indian campaign ; for, having looked at them, they will perceive that it is madness to suppose, that all the combinations of banks, and bankers, and merchants, can ever drive this brave and inflexibly virtuous man from his purpose.

25 Before I lay before the reader the details of this campaign, it will be useful to give a short description of the geography of the scene. The great river Mississippi, which comes down from fifteen or sixteen hundred miles, then is joined by the Ohio, and carries it along with it five or six hundred miles, down to its mouth, which empty themselves in the Gulf of Mexico ; this great river bounds to the westward the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and it runs through the state of Louisiana. The nations of savages, called by various names, *Creeks*, *Cherokees*, *Chocktaws*, *Chickesaws*, *Bayous*, and God knows what besides, live in the woods and fastnesses in these states, or in those on the western side of the Mississippi ; therefore, to leave the people of the United States exposed to the tomahawks of these bloody monsters would have been scandalous indeed. Jackson was the man chosen to chastise them ; and in the wonderful details which I am now about to lay before the reader, it will be seen that not another man that we have ever heard of would have been capable of performing this duty with success ; and when the reader has gone through these details,

and has afterwards witnessed the glorious defence of New Orleans, he will still recur to this Indian campaign as the most glorious exploit of this wonderful man; a campaign meriting greater praise than ten thousand lives like that of Wellington, and yet a campaign which was never yet heard of in England; this country of learning, of literature, of researches, and of knowledge of all sorts; this country which has poured out travellers to penetrate into every part of the United States, but which has never sent one to discover and send home an account of this campaign. With these preliminary remarks I enter upon the details of this campaign. I need not bespeak the reader's wonder and admiration; for the man who will not admire here, is hardly worthy of the name of man.

26. These multiplied outrages at length attracted the attention of the general government, and application was made, through their agent (Colonel Hawkins), to the principal chiefs of the nation, who, desirous of preserving their friendly relations with the United States, resolved to punish the murderers with death; and immediately appointed a party of warriors to carry their determination into execution. No sooner was this done, than the spirit of the greater part of the nation, which from policy had been kept, in a considerable degree, dormant, suddenly burst to a flame, and kindled into civil war.

27. It was not difficult for the friends of those murderers who had been put to death, to prevail on others, who secretly applauded the acts for which they suffered, to enter warmly into their resentments against those who had been concerned in bringing them to punishment. An occasion, as they believed, was now presented, which fully authorized them to throw aside all those injunctions of secrecy, with regard to their hostile intentions, which had been imposed on them by Tecumseh and their prophets. This restraint, which hitherto they had regarded with much difficulty, they now resolved to lay aside, and to execute at once their insatiate and long-projected vengeance, not only on the white people, but on those of their own nation; who, by this last act of retaliatory justice, had unequivocally shown a disposition to preserve their friendship with the former. The cloak of concealment being now thrown aside, the war clubs\*

\* Instruments used by the Indian tribes on commencing hostilities; and which, when painted red, they consider a declaration of war. They are formed of a stick, about eighteen inches in length, with a strong piece of sharp iron affixed at the end, and resemble a hatchet. They use them principally in pursuit, and after they have been able to introduce confusion into the ranks of an enemy.

were immediately seen in every section of the nation, but more particularly among the numerous hordes residing near the Alabama. Brandishing these in their hands, they rushed, in the first instance, on those of their own countrymen who had shown a disposition to preserve their relations with the United States, and obliged them to retire towards the white settlements, and place themselves in forts, to escape the first ebullition of their rage. Encouraged by this success, and their numbers, which hourly increased, and infatuated to the highest degree by the predictions of their prophets, who assured them that "the Great Spirit" was on their side, and would enable them to triumph over all their enemies, they began to make immediate preparations for extending their ravages to the white settlements. Fort Mimms, situated in the Tensasaw settlement in the Mississippi territory, was the first point destined to satiate their cruelty and vengeance. It contained, at that time, about one hundred and fifty men under the command of Major Beasley, besides a considerable number of women and children, who had betaken themselves to it for security. Having collected a supply of ammunition from the Spaniards at Pensacola, and assembled their warriors to the number of six or seven hundred, the war party, commanded by Weatherford, a distinguished chief of the nation, on the 30th of August 1813, commenced their assault on the fort; and having succeeded in carrying it, put to death nearly three hundred persons, including women and children, with the most savage barbarity. The slaughter was indiscriminate; mercy was extended to none; and the tomahawk, at the same stroke, often cleft the mother and the child. But seventeen of the whole number in the fort escaped to bring intelligence of the dreadful catastrophe. This monstrous and unprovoked outrage no sooner reached Tennessee, than the whole state was thrown into a ferment, and nothing was thought or spoken of but retaliatory vengeance. Considerable excitement had already been produced by brutalities of earlier date, and measures had been adopted by the governor, in conformity with instructions from the secretary of war, for commencing a campaign against them; but the massacre at Fort Mimms, which threatened to be followed by the entire destruction of the Mobile and Tombigbee settlements, inspired a deep and universal sentiment of solicitude, and an earnest wish for speedy and effectual operations. The anxiety felt on the occasion was greatly increased, from an apprehension that General Jackson would not be able to command. He was the only man known in the state who was believed qualified to discharge the arduous

duties of the station, and who could carry with him the complete confidence of his soldiers. He was at this time seriously indisposed, and confined to his room with a fractured arm; but although this apprehension was seriously indulged, arrangements were in progress, and measures industriously taken, to prepare and press the expedition with every possible dispatch.

28. A numerous collection of respectable citizens, who convened at Nashville on the 18th of September 1813, for the purpose of devising the most effectual ways and means of affording protection to their brethren in distress, after conferring with the governor and General Jackson, who was still confined to his room, strongly advised the propriety of marching a sufficient army into the heart of the Creek nation; and accordingly recommended this measure with great earnestness to the legislature, which, in a few days afterwards, commenced its session. That body, penetrated with the same sentiments which animated the whole country, immediately enacted a law, authorizing the executive to call into the field thirty-five hundred of the militia, to be marched against the Indians; and to guard against all difficulties, in the event the general government should omit to adopt them into their service, three hundred thousand dollars were voted for their support.

29. Additional reasons were at hand why active operations should be commenced with the least possible delay. The settlers were fleeing to the interior, and every day brought intelligence, that the Creeks, collected in considerable force, were bending their course towards the frontiers of Tennessee. The governor now issued an order to General Jackson, who, notwithstanding the state of his health, had determined to assume the command, requiring him to call out, and rendezvous at Fayetteville, in the shortest possible time, two thousand of the militia and volunteers of his division, to repel any invasion that might be contemplated. Colonel Coffee, in addition to five hundred cavalry, already raised, and under his command, was authorized and instructed to organize and receive into his regiment, any mounted riflemen that might make a tender of their services.

30. Having received these orders, Jackson hastened to give them effect; and with this object, and with a view to greater expedition, appealed to those volunteers, who, with him, had heretofore descended the Mississippi to Natches. He urged them to appear at the place designated for the rendezvous, on the 4th of October, 1813, equipped and armed for active service. He pointed out the imperious necessity which demanded

their services, and urged them to be punctual; for that their frontiers were threatened with invasion by a savage foe. "Already are large bodies of the hostile Creeks marching to your borders, with their scalping knives unsheathed, to butcher your women and children: time is not to be lost. We must hasten to the frontier, or we shall find it drenched in the blood of our citizens. The health of your general is restored—he will command in person." In the mean time, until this force could be collected and organized, Colonel Coffee, with the force then under his command, and such additional mounted riflemen as could be attached at a short notice, was directed to hasten forward to the neighbourhood of Huntsville, and occupy some eligible position for the defence of the frontier, until the infantry should arrive; when it was contemplated, by the nearest possible route to press on to Fort St. Stephen, with a view to the protection and defence of Mississippi.

31. Every exertion was now made to hasten the preparations for a vigorous campaign. Orders were given to the quartermaster, to furnish the necessary munitions, with the proper transportation; and to the contractors, to provide ample supplies of provisions. The day of their rendezvous being arrived, and the general not being sufficiently recovered to attend in person, he forwarded by his aid-de-camp, Major Reid, an address, to be read to the troops, accompanied by an order for the establishment of the police of the camp. In this address, he pointed to the unprovoked injuries that had been so long inflicted by this horde of merciless and cruel savages; and intreated his soldiers to evince that zeal in the defence of their country, which the importance of the moment so much required. "We are about to furnish these savages a lesson of admonition; we are about to teach them, that our long forbearance has not proceeded from an insensibility to wrongs, or an inability to redress them. They stand in need of such warning. In proportion as we have borne with their insults, and submitted to their outrages; they have multiplied in number, and increased in atrocity. But the measure of their offences is at length filled. The blood of our women and children, recently spilled at Fort Mimms, calls for our vengeance; it must not call in vain. Our borders must no longer be disturbed by the war whoop of these savages, or the cries of their suffering victims. The torch that has been lighted up must be made to blaze in the heart of their own country. It is time they should be made to feel the weight of a power which, because it was merciful, they believed to be impotent. But how shall a war, so long forborne, and so loudly

called for by retributive justice, be waged? Shall we imitate the example of our enemies, in the disorder of their movements and the savageness of their dispositions? Is it worthy the character of American soldiers, who take up arms to redress the wrongs of an injured country, to assume no better model than that furnished them by barbarians? No, fellow soldiers; great as are the grievances that have called us from our homes, we must not permit disorderly passions to tarnish the reputation we shall carry along with us;—we must and will be victorious; but we must conquer as men who owe nothing to chance, and who, in the midst of victory, can still be mindful of what is due to humanity!

32. "We will commence the campaign by an inviolable attention to discipline and subordination. Without a strict observance of these, victory must ever be uncertain, and ought hardly to be exulted in even when gained. To what but the entire disregard of order and subordination, are we to ascribe the disasters which have attended our arms in the north, during the present war? How glorious will it be to remove the blot which have tarnished the fair character bequeathed us by the fathers of our revolution! The bosom of your general is full of hope. He knows the ardour which animates you, and already exults in the triumph which your strict observance of discipline and good order will render certain."

33. For the police of his camp, he announced the following order:

"The chain of sentinels will be marked, and the sentries posted, precisely at ten o'clock to-day.

"No sutler will be suffered to sell spirituous liquors to any soldier, without permission, in writing, from a commissioned officer, under the penalties prescribed by the rules and articles of war.

"No citizen will be permitted to pass the chain of sentinels, after retreat beat in the evening, until reveille in the morning. Drunkenness, the bane of all orderly encampments, is positively forbidden, both in officers and privates: officers, under the penalty of immediate arrest; and privates, of being placed under guard, there to remain until liberated by a court-martial.

"At reveille beat, all officers and soldiers are to appear on parade, with their arms and accoutrements in proper order.

"On parade, silence, the duty of a soldier, is positively commanded.

"No officer or soldier is to sleep out of camp, but by permission obtained."

34. These rules, to those who had scarcely yet passed the line that separates the citizen from the soldier, and who had not yet laid aside the notions of self-sovereignty, had the appearance of too much rigour; but the general well knew, that the expedition in which they were embarked involved much hazard; and that, although such lively feelings were manifested now, yet when hardships pressed, these might cease. He considered it much safer, therefore, to lay before them, at once, the rules of conduct to which they must conform; believing that it would be more difficult to drive licentiousness from his camp, than to prevent its entrance.

35. Impatient to join his division, although his health was far from being restored, his arm only beginning to heal, the general, in a few days afterwards, set out for the encampment, and reached it on the 7th of October, 1813. Finding, on his arrival, that the requisition was not complete, either in the number of men, or the necessary equipments, measures were instantly taken to remedy the deficiency. Orders were directed to the several brigadiers in his division, to hasten immediately their respective quotas, fully equipped for active operations.

36. Circumstances did not permit him to remain at this place long enough to have the delinquencies complained of remedied, and the ranks of his army filled. Colonel Coffee had proceeded with his mounted volunteers to cover Huntsville, and give security to the frontiers, where alarm greatly prevailed. On the night of the 8th, a letter was received from him, dated two days before, advising, that two Indians, belonging to the peace party, had just arrived at the Tennessee river, from Chinnaby's fort, on the Coosa, with information that the war party had dispatched eight hundred or a thousand of their warriors to attack the frontiers of Georgia; and, with the remainder of their forces, were marching against Huntsville, or Fort Hampton. In consequence of this intelligence, exertions were made to hasten a movement. Late on the following night, another express arrived, confirming the former statement, and representing the enemy, in great force, to be rapidly approaching the Tennessee. Orders were now given for preparing the line of march, and by nine o'clock the next day, the whole division was in motion. They had not proceeded many miles, when they were met with intelligence that Colonel Gibson, who had been sent out by Coffee to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy, had been killed by their advance. A strong desire had been manifested to be led forward; that desire was now strengthened by the information just received; and it was with difficulty their emotions



sent either up or down the river. Disappointed in the hopes with which he had adventured on his march, he remained here several days, in expectation of the boats that were coming to his relief. Thus harassed at the first onset, by difficulties wholly unexpected, and which, from the numerous and strong assurances received, he could by no means have calculated on: fearing, too, that the same disregard of duty might induce a continuance, he lost no time in opening every avenue to expedient, that the chances of future failure might be diminished. To General Flournoy, who commanded at Mobile, he applied; urging him to procure bread stuff, and have it forwarded up the Alabama by the time he should arrive on that river. The agent of the Choctaws, Colonel M'Kee, who was then on the Tombigbee, was addressed in the same style of entreaty. Expresses were dispatched to General White, who, with the advance of the East Tennessee division, had arrived at the Look-Out mountain, in the Cherokee nation, urging him, by all means, to hasten on the supplies. The assistance of the Governor of Tennessee was also earnestly besought. To facilitate exertion, and to assure success, every thing within his reach was attempted: several persons of wealth and patriotism, in Madison county, were solicited to afford the contractors all the aid in their power; and, to induce them more readily to extend it, their deep interest, immediately at stake, was pointed to, and their deplorable and dangerous situation, should necessity compel him to withdraw his army, and leave them exposed to the mercy of the savages.

38. Whilst these measures were taking, two runners, from Turkey town, an Indian village, dispatched by Path-killer, a chief of the Cherokees, arrived at the camp. They brought information, that the enemy, from nine of the hostile towns, were assembling in great force near the Ten Islands; and solicited that immediate assistance should be afforded the friendly Creeks and Cherokees, in their neighbourhood, who were exposed to such imminent danger. His want of provisions was not yet remedied; but distributing the partial supply that was on hand, he resolved to proceed, in expectation that the relief he had so earnestly looked for, would in a little while arrive, and be forwarded to him. To prepare his troops for an engagement, which he foresaw was soon to take place, he thus addressed them:

39. "You have, fellow soldiers, at length penetrated the country of your enemies. It is not to be believed that they will abandon the soil that embosoms the bones of their forefathers,

without furnishing you an opportunity of signalizing your valour. Wise men do not expect, brave men will not desire it. It was not to travel unmolested, through a barren wilderness, that you quitted your families and homes, and submitted to so many privations ; it was to avenge the cruelties committed upon our defenceless frontiers by the inhuman Creeks, instigated by their no less inhuman allies ; you shall not be disappointed. If the enemy flee before us, we will overtake and chastise him ; we will teach him how dreadful, when once aroused, is the resentment of freemen. But it is not by boasting that punishment is to be inflicted, or victory obtained. The same resolution that prompted us to take up arms, must inspire us in battle. Men thus animated, and thus resolved, barbarians can never conquer ; and it is an enemy, barbarous in the extreme, that we have now to face. Their reliance will be on the damage they can do you whilst you are asleep and unprepared for action : their hopes shall fail them in the hour of experiment. Soldiers who know their duty, and are ambitious to perform it, are not to be taken by surprise. Our sentinels will never sleep, nor our soldiers be unprepared for action : yet, whilst it is enjoined upon the sentinels vigilantly to watch the approach of the foe, they are, at the same time, commanded not to fire at shadows. Imaginary danger must not deprive them of entire self-possession. Our soldiers will lie with their arms in their hands ; and the moment an alarm is given, they will move to their respective positions without noise, and without confusion ; they will be thus enabled to hear the orders of their officers, and to obey them with promptitude.

40. " Great reliance will be placed by the enemy on the consternation they may be able to spread through our ranks by the hideous yells with which they commence their battles ; but brave men will laugh at such efforts to alarm them. It is not by bel-lowings and screams that the wounds of death are inflicted. You will teach these noisy assailants how weak are their weapons of warfare, by opposing them with the bayonet ; what Indian ever withstood its charge ? what army, of any nation, ever withstood it long ?

41. " Yes, soldiers, the order for a charge will be the signal for victory. In that moment, your enemy will be seen fleeing in every direction before you. But in the moment of action, coolness and deliberation must be regarded ; your fires made with precision and aim ; and when ordered to charge with the bayonet, you must proceed to the assault with a quick and firm step ; without trepidation or alarm. Then shall you behold the

completion of your hopes in the discomfiture of your enemy. Your general, whose duty, as well as inclination, is to watch over your safety, will not, to gratify any wishes of his own, rush you unnecessarily into danger. He knows, however, that it is not in assailing an enemy that men are destroyed; it is when retreating and in confusion. Aware of this, he will be prompted as much by a regard for your lives as your honour. He laments that he has been compelled, even incidentally, to hint at a retreat when speaking to freemen, and to soldiers. Never, until you forget all that is due to yourselves and your country, will you have any practical understanding of that word. Shall an enemy, wholly unacquainted with military evolution, and who rely more for victory on their grim visages and hideous yells, than upon their bravery or their weapons—shall such an enemy ever drive before them the well-trained youths of our country whose bosoms pant for glory, and a desire to avenge the wrongs they have received? Your general will not live to behold such a spectacle; rather would he rush into the thickest of the enemy, and submit himself to their scalping knives: but he has no fears of such a result. He knows the valour of the men he commands, and how certainly that valour, regulated as it will be, will lead to victory. With his soldiers he will face all dangers, and with them participate in the glory of conquest."

42. Having thus prepared the minds of his men, and brought to their view the kind of foe with whom they were shortly to contend; and having also, by his expresses, instructed General White to form a junction with him, and to hasten on all the supplies in his power to command, with about six days' rations of meat, and less than two of meal, he again put his army in motion to meet the enemy. Although there was some hazard in advancing into a country where relief was not to be expected, with such limited preparation, yet, believing that his contractors, lately installed, would exert themselves to the utmost to forward supplies, and that amidst the variety of arrangements made, all could not fail, and well aware that his delaying longer might be productive of many disadvantages, his determination was taken to set out immediately in quest of the enemy. He replied to the Path-killer, by his runners, that he should proceed directly for the Coosa, and solicited him to be diligent in making discoveries of the situation and collected forces of the savages, and to give him, as early as possible, the result of his inquiries.

43. "The hostile Creeks," he remarked to him, "will not attack you until they have had a brush with me; and that, I think, will put them out of the notion of fighting for some time."

44. He requested, if he had, or could any how procure, provisions for his army, that he would send them, or advise where they might be had: "You shall be well paid, and have my thanks into the bargain. I shall stand most in need of corn meal, but shall be thankful for any kind of provisions; and indeed for whatever will support life."

45. The army had advanced but a short distance when unexpected embarrassments were again presented. Information was received, by which it was clearly ascertained that, the present contractors, who had been so much and so certainly relied on, could not, with all their exertions, procure the necessary supplies. Major Rose, in the quarter-master's department, who had been sent into Madison county, to aid them in their endeavours, having satisfied himself, as well from their own admissions, as from evidence derived from other sources, that their want of funds, and consequent want of credit, rendered them a very unsafe dependence, had returned, and disclosed the facts to the general. He stated, that there were there persons of fortune and industry, who might be confided in, and who would be willing to contract for the army if it were necessary. Jackson lost no time in embracing this plan, and gave the contract to Mr. Pope, upon whose means and exertions, he hoped, every reliance might be safely reposed. To the other contractors he wrote, informing them of the change that had been made, and the reasons which had induced it.

46. "I am advised," said he, "that you have candidly acknowledged you have it not in your power to execute the contract in which you have engaged. Do not think I mean to cast any reflection—very far from it. I am exceedingly pleased with the exertions you have made, and feel myself under many obligations of gratitude for them. The critical situation of affairs, when you entered into the contract, being considered, you have done all that individuals, in your circumstances, could have performed. But you must be well convinced, that any approbation which may be felt by the commander of an army, for past services, ought not to become, through kindness to you, the occasion of that army's destruction. From the admissions you have been candid enough to make, the scarcity which already begins to appear in camp, and the difficulties you are likely to encounter in effecting your engagements, I am apprehensive I should be doing injustice to the army I command were I to rely for support on your exertions—great as I know them to be. Whatever concerns myself, I may manage with any generosity or indulgence I please; but in acting for my country, I have no

such discretion. I have, therefore, felt myself compelled to give the contract in which you are concerned, to another, who is abundantly able to execute it; on condition he indemnifies you for the trouble you have been at."

47. This arrangement being made, the army continued its march, and having arrived within a few miles of the Ten Islands, was met by old Chinnaby, a leading chief of the Creek nation, and sternly opposed to the war party. He brought with him, and surrendered up, two of the hostile Creeks who had lately been made prisoners by his party. At this place, it was represented, that they were within sixteen miles of the enemy, who were collected, to the number of a thousand, to oppose their passage. This information was little relied on, and afterwards proved untrue. Jackson continued his route, and in a few days reached the islands of the Coosa, having been detained a day on the way, for the purpose of obtaining small supplies of corn from the neighbouring Indians. This acquisition to the scanty stock on hand, whilst it afforded subsistence for the present, encouraged his hopes for the future, as a means of temporary resort, should his other resources fail.

48. In a letter to Governor Blount, from this place, speaking of the difficulties with which he was assailed, he observes:—"Indeed, sir, we have been very wretchedly supplied—scarcely two rations in succession have been regularly drawn; yet we are not despondent. Whilst we can procure an ear of corn a-piece, or any thing that will answer as a substitute for it, we shall continue our exertions to accomplish the object for which we were sent. The cheerfulness with which my men submit to privations, and are ready to encounter danger, does honour to them, and to the government whose rights they are defending.

49. "Every mean within my power, for procuring the requisite supplies for my army, I have taken, and am continuing to take. East, west, north, and south, have been applied to with the most pressing solicitation. The Governor of Georgia, in a letter received from him this evening, informs me that a sufficiency can be had in his state; but does not signify that he is about to take any measures to procure it. My former contractor has been superseded: no exertions were spared by him to fulfil his engagements; yet the inconveniences under which he laboured were such as to render his best exertions unavailing. The contract has been offered to one who will be able to execute it: if he accepts it, my apprehensions will be greatly diminished."

50. On the 28th of October, 1813, Colonel Dyer, who, on

the march to the Ten Islands, had been detached from the main body, with two hundred cavalry, to attack Littafutchee town, on the head of Canoe-creek, which empties into the Coosa from the west, returned, bringing with him twenty-nine prisoners, men, women, and children, having destroyed the village.

51. The sanguine expectations indulged on leaving Thompson's creek, that the advance of the East Tennessee militia would hasten to unite with him, was not yet realized. The express heretofore directed to General White, had not returned. Jackson on the 31st of October, 1813, dispatched another, again urging him to effect a speedy junction, and to bring with him all the bread stuff it should be in his power to procure; feelingly suggesting to him, at the same time, the great inconvenience and hazard to which he had been already exposed, for the want of punctuality in himself and his commanding general. Owing to that cause, and the late failures of his contractors, he represented his army as placed, at present, in a very precarious situation, and dependent, in a great measure, for support, on the exertions which they might be pleased to make; but assured him, at the same time, that, let circumstances transpire as they might, he would still, at every risk, endeavour to effect his purpose; and, at all events, was resolved to hasten, with every practicable dispatch, to the accomplishment of the object for which he had set out. Believing the co-operation of the East Tennessee troops essential to this end, they were again instructed to join him without delay; for he could not conceive it so be correct policy, that troops from the same state, pursuing the same object, should constitute separate and distinct armies, and act without concert, and independently of each other. He entertained no doubt but that his order would be promptly obeyed.

52. The next evening, a detachment which had been sent out the day before, returned to camp, bringing with them, besides some corn and beeves, several negroes and prisoners of the war party.

53. Learning now that a considerable body of the enemy had posted themselves at Tallushatchee, on the south side of the Coosa, about thirteen miles distant, General Coffee was detached with nine hundred men, (the mounted troops having been previously organized into a brigade, and placed under his command,) to attack and disperse them. With this force he was enabled, through the direction of an Indian pilot, to ford the Coosa at the Fish dams, about four miles above the Islands; and having encamped beyond it, very early the next morning proceeded to

the execution of his order. Having arrived within a mile and a half, he formed his attachment into two divisions, and directed them to march so as to encircle the town, by uniting their fronts beyond it. The enemy, hearing of his approach, began to prepare for action, which was announced by the beating of drums, mingled with their savage yells and war whoops. An hour after sun-rise, the action was commenced by Captain Hammond's and Lieutenant Patterson's companies of spies, who had gone within the circle of alignment, for the purpose of drawing the Indians from their buildings. No sooner had these companies exhibited their front in view of the town, and given a few scattering shot, than the enemy formed, and made a violent charge. Being compelled to give way, the advance guards were pursued until they reached the main body of the army, which immediately opened a general fire, and charged in their turn. The Indians retreated, firing, until they got around and in their buildings, where an obstinate conflict ensued, and where those who maintained their ground persisted in fighting as long as they could stand or sit, without manifesting fear or soliciting quarter. Their loss was a hundred and eighty-six killed; among whom were, unfortunately, and through accident, a few women and children. Eighty-four women and children were taken prisoners, towards whom the utmost humanity was shown. Of the Americans, five were killed, and forty-one wounded. Two were killed with arrows, which on this occasion formed a principal part of the arms of the Indians; each one having a bow and quiver, which he used after the first fire of his gun, until an opportunity occurred for reloading.

54. Having buried his dead, and provided for his wounded, General Coffee, late on the evening of the same day, united with the main army, bringing with him about forty prisoners. Of the residue, a part were too badly wounded to be removed, and were therefore left with a sufficient number to take care of them. Those which he brought in, received every comfort and assistance their situation demanded, and, for safety, were immediately sent into the settlements.

55. From the manner in which the enemy fought, the killing and wounding others than their warriors was not to be avoided. On their retreat to their village, after the commencement of the battle, they resorted to their block houses, and strong log dwellings, whence they kept up resistance, and resolutely maintained the fight. Thus mingled with their women and children, it was impossible they should not be exposed to the general danger; and thus many were injured, notwithstanding every

possible precaution was taken to prevent it. In fact many of the women united with their warriors, and contended in the battle with fearless bravery.

56. Measures were now taken to establish a permanent depot on the north bank of the river, at the Ten Islands, to be protected by strong picketting and block houses; after which, it was the intention of Jackson to proceed along the Coosa to its junction with the Tallapoosa, near which it was expected the main force of the enemy was collected. Well knowing that it would detach much of the strength of his army to occupy, in his advance, the different points necessary to the safety of his rear, it was desirable to unite, as soon as possible, with the troops from the east of Tennessee: to effect this, he again, on the 4th, dispatched an express to General White, who had previously, with his command, arrived at Turkey town, a Cherokee village, about twenty-five miles above, on the same river, urging him to unite with him as soon as possible, and again entreating him on the subject of provisions; to bring with him such as he had on hand, or could procure; and, if possible, to form some certain arrangement that might ensure a supply in future.

57. Anxious to proceed, and to have his army actively and serviceably employed, which he believed would be practicable, as soon as a junction could be effected, he again, on the morning of the 7th of November, 1813, renewed his application to General White, who still remained at Turkey-town.

58. As yet no certain intelligence was received of any collection of the enemy. The army was busily engaged in fortifying and strengthening the site fixed on for a depot, to which the name of Fort Strother had been given. Late, however, on the evening of the 7th November, a runner arrived from Talladega, a fort of the friendly Indians, distant about thirty miles below, with information, that the enemy had that morning encamped before it in great numbers, and would certainly destroy it unless immediate assistance could be afforded. Jackson confiding in the statement, determined to lose no time in extending the relief which was solicited. Understanding that General White, agreeably to his order, was on his way to join him, he dispatched a messenger to meet him, directing him to reach his encampment in the course of the ensuing night and to protect it in his absence. He now gave orders for taking up the line of march, with twelve hundred infantry, and eight hundred cavalry and mounted gun men; leaving behind the sick, the wounded, and all his baggage, with a force which was deemed sufficient for their protection, until the reinforcement from Turkey-town should arrive.



59. The friendly Indians, who had taken refuge in this besieged fort, had involved themselves in their present perilous situation, from a disposition to preserve their amicable relations with the United States. To suffer them to fall a sacrifice, from any tardiness of movement, would have been unpardonable; and unless relief were immediately extended, it might arrive too late. Acting under these impressions, the general concluded to move instantly forward to their assistance. By twelve o'clock at night everything was in readiness; and in an hour afterwards the army commenced crossing the river, about a mile above the camp, each of the mounted men carrying one of the infantry behind him. The river at this place was six hundred yards wide, and it being necessary to send back the horses for the remainder of the infantry, several hours were consumed before a passage of all the troops could be effected. Nevertheless, though greatly fatigued and deprived of sleep, they continued the march with animation, and by evening had arrived within six miles of the enemy. In this march, Jackson used the utmost precaution to prevent surprise; marching his army, as was his constant custom, in three columns, so that, by a speedy manœuvre, they might be thrown into such a situation as to be capable of resisting an attack from any quarter. Having judiciously encamped his men on an eligible piece of ground, he sent forward two of the friendly Indians, and a white man, who had for many years been detained a captive in the nation, and was now acting as interpreter, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. About eleven o'clock at night they returned with information that the savages were posted within a quarter of a mile of the fort, and appeared to be in great force; but that they had not been able to approach near enough to ascertain either their numbers or precise situation. Within an hour after this, a runner arrived from Turkey-town, with a letter from General White, stating, that after having taken up the line of march, to unite at Fort Strother, he had received orders from General Cocke to change his course and proceed to the mouth of Chatauga creek. It was most distressing intelligence: the sick and wounded had been left with no other calculation for their safety and defence than that this detachment of the army, agreeably to his request, would, by advancing upon Fort Strother, serve the double purpose of protecting his rear and enable him to advance still farther into the enemy's country. The information which was now received, proved that all those salutary anticipations were at an end, and that evils of the worst kind might be the consequence. Intelligence so disagreeable, and withal so unexpected, filled the mind of Jackson with apprehen-

sion of a serious and alarming character ; and dreading lest the enemy, by taking a different route, should attack his encampment in his absence, he determined to lose no time in bringing him to battle. Orders were accordingly given to the adjutant-general to prepare the line, and by four o'clock in the morning, the army was again in motion. The infantry proceeded in three columns ; the cavalry in the same order, in the rear, with flankers on each wing. The advance, consisting of a company of artillerists with muskets, two companies of riflemen, and one of spies, marched about four hundred yards in front, under the command of Colonel Carroll, inspector-general, with orders, after commencing the action, to fall back on the centre, so as to draw the enemy after them. At seven o'clock, having arrived within a mile of the position they occupied, the columns were displayed in order of battle. Two hundred and fifty of the cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dyer, were placed in the rear of the centre, as a corps de reserve. The remainder of the mounted troops were directed to advance on the right and left ; and, after encircling the enemy, by uniting the fronts of their columns, and keeping their rear rested on the infantry, to face and press towards the centre, so as to leave them no possibility of escape. The remaining part of the army was ordered to move up by heads of companies ; General Hall's brigade occupying the right, and General Roberts' the left.

60. About eight o'clock, the advance having arrived within eighty yards of the enemy, who were concealed in a thick shrubbery, that covered the margin of a small rivulet, received a heavy fire, which they instantly returned with much spirit. Falling in with the enemy, agreeably to their instructions, they retired towards the centre ; but not before they had dislodged them from their position. The Indians, now screaming and yelling hideously, rushed forward in the direction of General Roberts' brigade, a few companies of which, alarmed by their numbers and yells, gave way at the first fire. Jackson, to fill the chasm which was thus created, directed the regiment commanded by Colonel Bradley, to be moved up, which, from some unaccountable cause, had failed to advance in a line with the others, and now occupied a position in rear of the centre. Bradley, however, to whom this order was given by one of the staff, omitted to execute it in time, alleging, he was determined to remain on the eminence which he then possessed, until he should be approached and attacked by the enemy. Owing to this failure in the volunteer regiment, it became necessary to dismount the reserve, which, with great firmness, met the ap-

proach of the enemy, who were rapidly moving in this direction. The retreating militia, somewhat mortified at seeing their places so promptly supplied, rallied, and, recovering their former position in the line, aided in checking the advance of the savages. The action now became general along the line, and in fifteen minutes the Indians were seen fleeing in every direction. On the left, they were met and repulsed by the mounted riflemen; but on the right, owing to the halt of Bradley's regiment, which was intended to occupy the extreme right, and to the circumstance of Colonel Allcorn, who commanded one of the wings of the cavalry, having taken too large a circuit, a considerable space was left between the infantry and the cavalry, through which numbers escaped. The fight was maintained with great spirit and effect on both sides, as well before as after the retreat commenced; nor did the pursuit and slaughter terminate until the mountains were reached, at the distance of three miles.

61. Jackson, in his report of this action, bestows high commendation on the officers and soldiers. "Too much praise," he observes, in the close of it, "cannot be bestowed on the advance, led by Colonel Carroll, for the spirited manner in which they commenced and sustained the attack; nor upon the reserve, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Dyer, for the gallantry with which they met and repulsed the enemy. In a word, officers of every grade, as well as privates, realized the high expectations I had formed of them, and merit the gratitude of their country."

62. In this battle, the force of the enemy was one thousand and eighty, of whom two hundred and ninety-nine were left dead on the ground; and it is believed that many were killed in the flight, who were not found when the estimate was made. Probably few escaped unhurt. Their loss on this occasion, as stated since by themselves, was not less than six hundred: that of the Americans was fifteen killed, and eighty wounded, several of whom afterwards died. Jackson, after collecting his dead and wounded, advanced his army beyond the fort, and encamped for the night. The Indians, who had been for several days shut up by the besiegers, thus fortunately liberated from the most dreadful apprehensions, and severest privations, having for some time been entirely without water, received the army with all the demonstrations of gratitude that savages could give. Their manifestations of joy for their deliverance, presented an interesting and affecting spectacle. Their fears had been already greatly excited, for it was the very day when they were to have been assaulted, and when every soul within the fort must have perished. All the provisions they could spare, from their scanty

stock, they sold to the general, who, purchasing with his own money, distributed them amongst the soldiers, who were almost destitute.

63. It was with great regret that Jackson now found he was without the means of availing himself fully of the advantages of his victory; but the condition of his posts in the rear, and the want of provisions, (having left his encampment at Fort Strother with little more than one day's rations,) compelled him to return; thus giving the enemy time to recover the consternation of their first defeat, and to re-assemble their forces.

64. The cause which prevented General White from acting in obedience to his order, and arriving at the Ten Islands at a moment when it was so important, and when it was so confidently expected, was as yet unknown; the only certainty upon the subject was, that for the present it wholly thwarted his views, and laid him under the necessity of returning. This mystery, hitherto inexplicable, was sometime after explained, by a view of the order of General Cocke, under which White, being a brigadier in his division, chose to act, rather than under Jackson's. General Cocke stated to him, he had understood Jackson had crossed the Coosa, and had an engagement with the Indians. "I have formed a council of officers here, and proposed these questions:—shall we follow him, or cross the river, and proceed to the Creek settlements on the Tallapoosa?—Both were decided unanimously, that he should not be followed, but that we should proceed in the way proposed." He remarked, that the decision had met his entire approbation; and directed White forthwith to unite with him at his encampment, where he should wait, fortifying it strongly for a depot, until he should arrive. "If," said he, "we follow General Jackson and his army, we must suffer for supplies; nor can we expect to gain a victory. Let us then take a direction in which we can share some of the dangers and glories of the field. You will employ pilots, and advise me which side of the river you will move up." In this, as in every other measure, it seemed to be the studied aim of Cocke, to thwart the views and arrest the successes of Jackson; and perhaps jealousy, in no inconsiderable degree, was the moving spring to his conduct. Both were major-generals, from the state of Tennessee, sent on the same important errand to check an insolent foe, who had practised the most cruel and unprovoked outrages. Which of them should share the "dangers and glories of the field," or obtain its laurels, was not so important to the country, as by acting in concert and harmony, endeavouring to accomplish the grand object of terminating the

war, and restoring tranquillity to the frontiers. National, and not individual advancement, was the object in carrying an army into the field : and the best and most effectual means of securing this, every officer, acting on liberal principles, should have constantly held in view : the interest and repose of the country, not their individual advancement, was the end to be attained.

65. Having buried his dead with all due honour, and provided litter for the wounded, he reluctantly commenced his return-march on the morning succeeding the battle. He confidently hoped, from the previous assurances of the contractors, that by the time of his return to Fort Strother sufficient supplies would have arrived there ; but, to his inexpressible uneasiness, he found that not a particle had been forwarded there since his departure, and that what had been left was already consumed. Even his private stores brought on at his own expense, and upon which he and his staff had hitherto wholly subsisted, had been in his absence distributed amongst the sick by the hospital surgeon, who had been previously instructed to do so, if their wants should require it. A few dozen biscuits which remained on his return, were given to hungry applicants, without being tasted by himself or family, who were probably not less hungry than those who were thus relieved. A scanty supply of indifferent beef taken from the enemy, or purchased of the Cherokees, was now the only support afforded. Thus left destitute, Jackson, with the utmost cheerfulness of temper, repaired to the bullock pen ; and of the offal there thrown away provided for himself and staff, what he was pleased to call, and seemed really to think, a very comfortable repast. Tripes, however, hastily provided in a camp, without bread or seasoning, can only be palatable to an appetite very high whetted ; yet this constituted for several days the only diet at head quarters, during which time the general seemed entirely satisfied with his fare. Neither this, nor the liberal donations by which he disarmed himself to relieve the suffering soldier, deserves to be ascribed to ostentation or design : the one flowed from benevolence, the other from necessity, and a desire to place before his men an example of patience and suffering, which he felt might be necessary, and hoped might be serviceable. Of these two imputations no human being, invested with rank and power, was ever more deservedly free. Charity in him is a warm and active propensity of the heart, urging him, by an instantaneous impulse, to relieve the wants of the distressed, without regarding, or even thinking of, the consequences. Many of those to whom it was extended had no conception of the source that

supplied them, and believed the comforts they received were, indeed, drawn from stores provided for the hospital department.

66. On this campaign, a soldier one morning, with a woe-begone countenance, approached the general, stating that he was nearly starved, that he had nothing to eat, and could not imagine what he should do. He was the more encouraged to complain, from perceiving that the general, who had seated himself at the root of a tree, waiting the coming up of the rear of the army, was busily engaged in eating something. The poor fellow was impressed with the belief, from what he saw, that want only attached to the soldiers; and that the officers, particularly the general, were liberally and well supplied. He accordingly approached him with great confidence of being relieved; Jackson told him, that it had always been a rule with him never to turn away a hungry man when it was in his power to relieve him. I will most cheerfully, said he, divide with you what I have; and putting his hand to his pocket, drew forth a few acorns, from which he had been feasting, adding, it was the best and only fare he had. The soldier seemed much surprised, and forthwith circulated amongst his comrades that their general was actually subsisting upon acorns, and that they ought hence no more to complain. From this circumstance was derived the story heretofore published to the world, that Jackson, about the period of his greatest suffering, and with a view to inspirit them, had invited his officers to dine with him, and presented for their repast water and a tray of acorns.

67. But while General Jackson remained wholly unmoved by his own privations, he was filled with solicitude and concern for his army. His utmost exertions, unceasingly applied, were insufficient to remove the sufferings to which he saw them exposed; and although they were by no means so great as were represented, yet were they undoubtedly such as to be sensibly and severely felt. Discontents, and a desire to return home, arose, and presently spread through the camp; and these were still further embittered and augmented by the arts of a few designing officers, who, believing that the campaign would now break up, hoped to make themselves popular on the return, by encouraging and taking part in the complaints of the soldiery. It is a singular fact, that those officers who pretended on this occasion to feel most sensibly for the wants of the army, and who contrived most effectually to instigate it to revolt, had never themselves been without provisions; and were, at that very moment, enjoying in abundance what would have relieved the

distresses of many, had it been as generously and freely distributed as were their words of advice and condolence.

68. During this period of scarcity and discontent, small quantities of supplies were occasionally forwarded by the contractors, but not a sufficiency for present want, and still less to remove the apprehensions that were entertained for the future. At length, revolt began to show itself openly. The officers and soldiers of the militia, collecting in their tents and talking over their grievances, determined to yield up their patriotism and to abandon the camp. To this measure, there were good evidences for believing that several of the officers of the old volunteer corps exerted themselves clandestinely, and with great industry, to instigate them; looking upon themselves somewhat in the light of veterans, from the discipline they had acquired in the expedition to the lower country, they were unwilling to be seen foremost in setting an example of mutiny, and wished to make the defection of others a pretext for their own.

69. Jackson, apprized of their determination to abandon him, resolved to oppose it, and, at all hazard, to prevent a departure. In the morning, when they were to carry their intentions into execution, he drew up the volunteers in front of them, with positive commands to prevent their progress, and compel them to return to their former position in the camp. The militia seeing this, and fearing the consequences of persisting in their purpose, at once abandoned it, and returned to their quarters without further murmuring; extolling, in the highest terms, the unalterable firmness of the general.

70. The next day, however, presented a singular scene. The volunteers, who the day before had been the instruments for compelling the militia to return to their duty, seeing the destruction of those hopes on which they had lately built, in turn began themselves to mutiny. Their opposition to the departure of the militia was but a mere pretence to escape suspicion, for they silently wished them success. They now determined to move off in a body, believing, from the known disaffection in the camp, that the general could find no means to prevent it. What was their surprise, however, when on attempting to effectuate their resolves, they found the same men, whom they had so lately opposed, occupying the very position which they had done the day previous for a similar purpose, and manifesting a fixed determination to obey the orders of their general! All they ventured to do was to take the example through; and, like them, move back in peace and quietness to their quarters.

This was a curious change of circumstances, when we consider in how short a time it happened ; but the conduct of the militia, on this occasion, must be ascribed to the ingenuity and management of the general, and to the gratification they felt in being able to defeat the views of those who had so lately thwarted their own. To this may be also added the consciousness all must have entertained, that the privations of which they complained were far less grievous than they had represented them ; by no means sufficient to justify revolt, and not greater than patriots might be expected to bear without a murmur, when objects of such high consideration were before them. But anxious to return to their families and kindred,—wearied of their difficulties and sufferings, and desirous to recount the brilliant exploits of their first battle, they seized with eagerness every pretext for exoneration, and listened with too much docility to the representations of those who were influenced by less honourable feelings. Having many domestic considerations to attend to—the first ebullition of resentment being cooled, and the first impulse of curiosity gratified, there were no motives to retain them in the field but a remaining sense of honour, and a fear of disgrace and punishment should they abandon their post without a cause. But although these motives were sufficient for the present, those who were governed by them did not cease to wish that a more plausible apology might offer for dispensing with their operation. The militia continued to show a much more obedient and patriotic disposition than the volunteers ; who, having adopted a course which they discovered must finally involve them in dishonour, if it should fail, were exceedingly anxious for its success, and that it might have the appearance of being founded on justice. On this subject the pretensions of the cavalry were certainly much better established ; as they were entirely without forage, and without the prospect of speedily obtaining any. They petitioned, therefore, to be permitted to return into the settled parts of the country, pledging themselves, by their platoon and field officers, that if sufficient time were allowed to recruit the exhausted state of their horses, and to procure their winter clothing, they would return to the performance of their duty whenever called on. The general, unable from many causes to prosecute the campaign, and confiding in the assurance given, granted the prayer of their petition, and they immediately set out on their return.

71. About this time, General Jackson's prospect of being able to maintain the conquests he had made, began to be cheered by letters just received from the contractors and princi-



pal wagon-master, stating that sufficient supplies for the army were then on the road, and would shortly arrive; but discontents, to an alarming degree, still prevailed in his camp. To allay them, if possible, he hastened to lay before the division the information and letters he had received; and, at the same time, invited the field and platoon officers to his quarters, to consult on the measures proper to be pursued. Having assembled them, and well knowing that the flame of discontent which had so lately shown itself, was only for the present smothered, and might yet burst forth in serious injury, he addressed them in an animated speech, in which he extolled their patriotism and achievements; lamented the privations to which they had been exposed, and endeavoured to reanimate them by the prospect of speedy relief, which he expected with confidence on the following day. He spoke of the immense importance of the conquests they had already made, and of the dreadful consequences that must result, should they be now abandoned. "What," continued he, "is the present situation of our camp? a number of our fellow soldiers are wounded, and unable to help themselves. Shall it be said that we are so lost to humanity as to leave them in this condition? Can any one, under these circumstances and under these prospects, consent to an abandonment of the camp; of all that we have acquired in the midst of so many difficulties, privations, and dangers; of what it will cost us so much to regain; of what we never can regain,—our brave wounded companions, who will be murdered by our unthinking, unfeeling inhumanity? Surely there can be none such! No; we will take with us, when we go, our wounded and sick. They must not—shall not perish by our cool-blooded indifference. But why should you despond? I do not, and yet your wants are not greater than mine. To be sure we do not live sumptuously: but no one has died of hunger, or is likely to die: and then how animating are our prospects! Large supplies are at Deposit, and already are officers dispatched to hasten them on. Wagons are on the way; a large number of beeves are in the neighbourhood; and detachments are out to bring them in. All these resources surely cannot fail. I have no wish to starve you—none to deceive you. Stay contentedly; and if supplies do not arrive within two days, we will all march back together, and throw the blame of our failure where it should properly lie; until then we certainly have the means of subsisting; and if we are compelled to bear privations, let us remember that they are borne for our country, and are not greater than many—perhaps most armies have been compelled to endure. I have called

you together to tell you my feelings and my wishes ; this evening think on them seriously ; and let me know yours in the morning."

72. Having retired to their tents, and deliberated on the measures most proper to be adopted in this emergency, the officers of the volunteer brigade came to the conclusion, that " nothing short of marching the army immediately back to the settlements could prevent those difficulties and that disgrace which must attend a forcible desertion of the camp by his soldiers." The officers of the militia determined differently, and reported a willingness to maintain the post a few days longer, that it might be ascertained whether or not a sufficiency of provisions could really be had. " If it can, let us proceed with the campaign—if not, let us be marched back to where it can be procured." The general, who greatly preferred the latter opinion, nevertheless, to allay excitement, was disposed to gratify those who appeared unwilling to submit to further hardships ; and with this view ordered General Hall to march his brigade to Fort Deposit ; and, after satisfying their wants, to return and act as an escort to the provisions. The second regiment, however, unwilling to be outdone by the militia, consented to remain ; and the first proceeded alone. On this occasion he could not forbear to remark, that men for whom he had ever cherished so warm an affection, and for whom he would at all times have made any sacrifice, desiring to abandon him at a moment when their presence was so particularly necessary, filled him with emotions which the strongest language was too feeble to express. " I was prepared," he continued, " to endure every evil but disgrace ; and this, as I never can submit to myself, I can give no encouragement to in others."

73. Two days had elapsed since the departure of the volunteers, and supplies had not arrived. The militia, with great earnestness, now demanded a performance of the pledge that had been given—that they should be marched back to the settlements. Jackson, on giving them an assurance that they should return, if relief did not reach them in two days, had indulged a confidence that it would certainly arrive by that time ; and now, from the information he had received, felt more than ever certain that it could not be far distant. Having, however, pledged himself, he could use no arguments or entreaties to detain them any longer, and immediately took measures for complying with their wishes and the promise he had made them. This was to him a moment of the deepest dejection. He foresaw how difficult it would be ever to accomplish the object upon

which his heart was so devoutly fixed, should he lose the men who were now with him; or even to regain the conquests he had made, if his present posts should fall into the hands of the enemy. While thus pondering on the gloomy prospect, he lifted up his hands and exclaimed, with a look and manner which showed how much he felt—"If only two men will remain with me, I will never abandon this post." Captain Gordon, of the spies, facetiously replied, "You have one, general, let us look if we can't find another;" and immediately, with a zeal suited to the occasion, undertook, with some of the general staff, to raise volunteers; and in a little while succeeded in procuring one hundred and nine, who declared a determination to remain and protect the post. The general, greatly rejoiced that he would not be compelled to an entire abandonment of his position, now set out towards Deposit with the remainder of the army, who were given distinctly to understand, that on meeting supplies they were to return and prosecute the campaign. This was an event which, as it had been expected and foretold, soon took place: they had not proceeded more than ten or twelve miles, when they met a hundred and fifty beeves; but a sight which gave to Jackson so much satisfaction, was to them the most disagreeable and unwelcome. Their faces being now turned towards home, no spectacle could be more hateful than one which was to change their destination. They were halted; and having satisfied their hungry appetites, the troops, with the exception of such as were necessary to proceed with the sick and wounded, were ordered to return to the encampment—he himself intending to see the contractors, and establish more effectual arrangements for the future. So great was their aversion to returning, that they preferred a violation of their duty and their pledged honour. Low murmurings ran along the lines, and presently broke out into open mutiny. In spite of the order they had received they began to revolt, and one company was already moving off in a direction towards home. They had proceeded some distance before information of their departure was had by Jackson. Irritated at their conduct, in attempting to violate the promise they had given, and knowing that the success of future operations depended on the result, the general pursued, until he came near a part of his staff and a few soldiers, who, with General Coffee, had halted about a quarter of a mile ahead. He ordered them to form immediately across the road, and to fire on the mutineers if they attempted to proceed. Snatching up their arms, these faithful adherents presented a front, which threw the deserters into affright, and caused them

to retreat precipitately to the main body. Here it was hoped the matter would end; and that no further opposition would be made to returning. This expectation was not realized; a mutinous temper began presently to display itself throughout the whole brigade. Jackson having left his aid-de-camp, Major Reid, engaged in making up some dispatches, had gone out alone amongst his troops, who were at some distance; on his arrival, he found a much more extensive mutiny than that which had just been quelled. Almost the whole brigade had put itself into an attitude for moving forcibly off. A crisis had arrived; and, feeling its importance, he determined to take no middle ground, but to triumph or perish. He was still without the use of his left arm; but seizing a musket, and resting it on the neck of his horse, he threw himself in front of the column, and threatened to shoot the first man who should attempt to advance. In this situation he was found by Major Reid and General Coffee; who, fearing from the length of his absence, that some disturbance had arisen, hastened where he was, and placing themselves by his side, awaited the result in anxious expectation. For many minutes the column preserved a sullen, yet hesitating attitude, fearing to proceed in their purpose, and disliking to abandon it. In the mean time, those who remained faithful to their duty, amounting to about two companies, were collected and formed at a short distance in advance of the troops and in rear of the general, with positive directions to imitate his example in firing if they attempted to proceed. At length, finding no one bold enough to advance, and overtaken by those fears which in the hour of peril always beset persons engaged in what they know to be a bad cause, they abandoned their purpose, and turning quietly round, agreed to return to their posts. It is very certain, that but for the firmness of the general, at this critical moment, the campaign would have been broken up, and most probably not commenced again.

74. Shortly after the battle of Talladega, the Hillabee tribes, who had been the principal sufferers on that occasion, applied to General Jackson for peace; declaring their willingness to receive it on such terms as he might be pleased to dictate. His decision had been already returned, stating to them that his government had taken up arms, to bring to a proper sense of duty a people to whom she had ever shown the utmost kindness, and who, nevertheless, had committed against her citizens the most unprovoked depredations; and that she would lay them down only when certain that this object was attained. "Upon those," continued he, "who are disposed to become

friendly, I neither wish nor intend to make war; but they must afford evidences of the sincerity of their professions; the prisoners and property they have taken from us, and the friendly Creeks, must be restored; the instigators of the war, and the murderers of our citizens, must be surrendered; the latter must and will be made to feel the force of our resentment. Long shall they remember Fort Mimms in bitterness and tears."

75. Having stated to General Cocke, whose division was acting in this section of the nation, the propositions that had been made by the Hillabee clans, with the answer he had returned, and urged him to detach to Fort Strother six hundred of his men, to aid in the defence of that place during his absence, and in the operations he intended to resume on his return, he proceeded to Deposit and Ditto's landing, where the most effectual means in his power were taken with the contractors for obtaining regular supplies in future. They were required to furnish immediately thirty days rations at Fort Strother, forty at Talladega, and as many at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa; two hundred packhorses and forty wagons were put in requisition to facilitate their transportation. Understanding now that the whole detachment from Tennessee had, by the president, been received into the service of the United States, he persuaded himself that the difficulties he had heretofore encountered would not recur, and that the want of supplies would not again be a cause of impeding his operations. He now looked forward, with sanguine expectations, to the speedy accomplishment of the objects of the expedition.

76. The volunteers, who were at Deposit, began to manifest the same unwillingness to return to their duty that the militia had done, and were about to break out into the same spirit of mutiny and revolt; but were restrained by an animated address of the general, who, having assembled them together, painted, in the most glowing colours, all the consequences that were to be apprehended, if, from any defalcation of theirs, the campaign should be abandoned, or ineffectually prosecuted. By this means, he succeeded once more in restoring quietness to his troops.

77. He now set out on his return to Fort Strother, and was delighted to find, by the progress of the works, the industry that had been used in his absence. But the satisfaction he felt, and the hopes he began to cherish, were of short continuance. Although he had succeeded in stilling the tumult of the volunteers, and in prevailing on them to return to their posts, it was soon discovered he had not eradicated their deep-rooted aversion

to a further prosecution of the war. Nothing is more difficult than to reanimate men who have once lost their spirits, or inspire with new ardour those in whom it has lately become extinct. Even where the evils, which produced the change, are removed, apologies will be sought, and pretexts seized, for justifying and preserving the present tone of mind. The volunteers who had so lately clamoured about bread, now, when they were no longer hungry, began to clamour, with equal earnestness, about their term of service. Having lately made an effort to forsake the drudgery of the field, and failed, they were disposed to avail themselves of any pretexts, seemingly plausible, to obtain success. They insisted that the period for which they had undertaken to act would end on the 10th of December, that being the termination of a year from the day they had first entered into service; and although they had been a greater part of the time disengaged, and unemployed, that recess was nevertheless to be taken into the computation. Jackson replied, that the law of congress, under which they had been tendered and accepted, requiring one year's service out of two, could contemplate nothing less than an actual service of three hundred and sixty-five days; and, until that were performed, he could not, unless specially authorized, undertake to discharge them. But as this was a question not likely to be settled by argument, and as the consequences were easily to be foreseen, if they should persist in their demands, the general began to think of providing other means for a continuance of the campaign, that, even in the worst extreme, he might not be unprepared to act. Ordering General Roberts to return, and fill up the deficiencies in his brigade, he now dispatched Colonel Carroll and Major Searcy, one of his aids-de-camp, into Tennessee, to raise volunteers, for six months, or during the campaign; writing, at the same time, to many respectable characters, he exhorted them to contribute all their assistance to the accomplishment of this object. To a letter, just received from the Reverend Gideon Blackburn, assuring him that volunteers from Tennessee would eagerly hasten to his relief, if they knew their services were wanted, he replied, "Reverend Sir,—Your letter has been just received: I thank you for it; I thank you most sincerely. It arrived at a moment when my spirits needed such a support.

78. "I left Tennessee with an army, brave, I believe, as any general ever commanded. I have seen them in battle, and my opinion of their bravery is not changed. But their fortitude—on this too I relied—has been too severely tested. Perhaps I was wrong, in believing that nothing but death could conquer the spirits of brave men. I am sure I was; for my men, I

know, are brave; yet privations have rendered them discontented:—that is enough. The expedition must nevertheless be prosecuted to a successful termination. New volunteers must be raised, to conclude what has been so auspiciously begun by the old ones. Gladly would I save these men from themselves, and insure them a harvest which they have sown; but if they will abandon it to others, it must be so.

79. “You are good enough to say, if I need your assistance, it will be cheerfully afforded: I do need it greatly. The influence you possess over the minds of men is great and well-founded, and can never be better applied than in summoning volunteers to the defence of their country, their liberty, and their religion. While we fight the savage, who makes war only because he delights in blood, and who has gotten his booty when he has scalped his victim, we are, through him, contending against an enemy of more inveterate character, and deeper design—who would demolish a fabric cemented by the blood of our fathers, and endeared to us by all the happiness we enjoy. So far as my exertions can contribute, the purposes, both of the savage and his instigator, shall be defeated; and so far as yours can, I hope—I know, they will be employed. I have said enough.—I want men, and want them immediately.”

80. Anxious to prosecute the campaign as soon as possible, that by employing his troops actively, he might dispel from their minds those discontents so frequently manifested, he wrote to General Cocke, desiring and urging him to unite with him, immediately, at the Ten Islands, with fifteen hundred men. He assured him that the mounted men, who had returned to the settlements for subsistence, and to recruit their horses, would arrive by the 12th of the month. He wished to commence his operations directly, “knowing they would be prepared for it, and well knowing they would require it.” “I am astonished,” he continued, “to hear that your supplies continue deficient. In the name of God, what are the contractors doing, and about what are they engaged? Every letter I receive from Governor Blount, assures me I am to receive plentiful supplies from them, and seems to take for granted, notwithstanding all I have said to the contrary, that they have been hitherto regularly furnished. Considering the generous loan the State has made for this purpose, and the facility of procuring bread stuffs in East Tennessee, and of transporting them by water to Fort Deposit, it is to me wholly unaccountable that not a pound has ever arrived at that place. This evil must continue no longer—it must be remedied. I expect, therefore, and through you must require, that in twenty days they furnish at Deposit every necessary supply.”

81. Whilst these measures were taking, the volunteers, through several of their officers, were pressing on the consideration of the general, the expiration of their term of service, and claiming to be discharged on the 10th of the month. From the colonel who commanded the second regiment, he received a letter, dated the 4th of December, 1813, in which was attempted to be detailed their whole ground of complaint. He began by stating, that painful as it was, he, nevertheless, felt himself bound to disclose an important and unpleasant truth;—that, on the 10th, the service would be deprived of the regiment he commanded. He seemed to deplore, with great sensibility, the scene that would be exhibited on that day, should opposition be made to their departure; and still more sensibly, the consequences that would result from a disorderly abandonment of the camp. He stated they had all considered themselves finally discharged on the 20th of April, 1813, and never knew to the contrary, until they saw his order of the 24th of September, 1813, requiring them to rendezvous at Fayetteville, on the 4th of October, 1813; for the first time, they then learned that they owed further services, their discharge to the contrary notwithstanding. “Thus situated, there was considerable opposition to the order; on which the officers generally, as I am advised, and I know myself in particular, gave it as an unequivocal opinion, that their term of service would terminate on the 10th of December, 1813.

82. “They therefore look to their general, who holds their confidence, for an honourable discharge on that day; and that, in every respect, he will see that justice be done them. They regret that their particular situations and circumstances require them to leave their general at a time when their services are important to the common cause. It would be desirable,” he continued, “that those men who have served with honour, should be honourably discharged, and that they should return to their families and friends without even the semblance of disgrace; with their general they leave it to place them in that situation. They have received him as an affectionate father, whilst they have honoured, revered, and obeyed him; but, having devoted a considerable portion of their time to the service of their country, by which their domestic concerns are greatly deranged, they wish to return, and attend to their own affairs.”

83. Although this communication announced the determination of only a part of the volunteer brigade, he had already abundant evidence that the defection was but too general.



The difficulties which the general had heretofore been compelled to encounter, from the discontents of his troops, might well induce him to regret that a spirit of insubordination should again threaten to appear in his camp. That he might, if possible, prevent it, he hastened to lay before them the error and impropriety of their views, and the consequences involved, should they persist in their purpose.

84. "I know not," he observed, "what scenes will be exhibited on the 10th instant, nor what consequences are to flow from them here or elsewhere; but as I shall have the consciousness that they are not imputable to any misconduct of mine, I trust I shall have the firmness not to shrink from a discharge of my duty. It will be well, however, for those who intend to become actors in those scenes, and who are about to hazard so much on the correctness of their opinions, to examine beforehand, with great caution and deliberation, the grounds on which their pretensions rest. Are they founded on any false assurances of mine, or upon any deception that has been practised towards them? Was not the act of congress, under which they are engaged, directed, by my general order, to be read, and expounded to them before they enrolled themselves? That order will testify, and so will the recollection of every general officer of my division. It is not pretended, that those who now claim to be discharged, were not legally and fairly enrolled under the act of congress of the 6th of February, 1812. Have they performed the service required of them by that act, and which they then solemnly undertook to perform? That required one year's service out of two, to be computed from the day of rendezvous, unless they should be sooner discharged. Has one year's service been performed? This cannot be seriously pretended. Have they then been discharged? It is said they have, and by me. To account for so extraordinary a belief, it may be necessary to take a review of past circumstances.

85. "More than twelve months have elapsed since we were called upon to avenge the injured rights of our country. We obeyed the call! In the midst of hardships, which none but those to whom liberty is dear could have borne without a murmur, we descended the Mississippi. It was believed our services were wanted in the prosecution of the just war in which our country was engaged, and we were prepared to render them. But, though we were disappointed in our expectations, we established for Tennessee a name which will long do her honour. At length, we received a letter from the secretary of war direct-

ing our dismissal. You well recollect the circumstances of wretchedness in which this order was calculated to place us. By it, we were deprived of every article of public property; no provision was made for the payment of our troops, or their subsistence on their return march; whilst many of our sick, unable to help themselves, must have perished. Against the opinion of many, I marched them back to their homes before I dismissed them. Your regiment, at its own request, was dismissed at Columbia. This was accompanied with a certificate to each man, expressing the acts under which he had been enrolled, and the length of the tour he had performed. This it is which is now attempted to be construed 'a final discharge;' but surely it cannot be forgotten by any officer or soldier, how sacredly they pledged themselves, before they were dismissed, or received that certificate, cheerfully to obey the voice of their country, if it should re-summon them into service; neither can it be forgotten, I dare hope, for what purpose that certificate was given; it was to secure, if possible, to those brave men, who had shown such readiness to serve their country, certain extra emoluments, specified in the seventh section of the act under which they had engaged, in the event they were not recalled into service for the residue of their term.

86. "Is it true, then, that my solicitude for the interest of the volunteers, is to be made by them a pretext for disgracing a name which they have rendered illustrious? Is a certificate, designed solely for their benefit, to become the rallying word for mutiny?—strange perversion of feeling and of reasoning! Have I really any power to discharge men whose term of service has not expired? If I were weak or wicked enough to attempt the exercise of such a power, does any one believe, the soldier would be thereby exonerated from the obligation he has voluntarily taken upon himself to his government? I should become a traitor to the important concern which has been entrusted to my management, while the soldier, who had been deceived by a false hope of liberation, would be still liable to redeem his pledge;—I should disgrace myself, without benefiting you.

87. "I can only deplore the situation of those officers who have undertaken to persuade their men that their term of service will expire on the 10th. In giving their opinions to this effect, they have acted indiscreetly, and without sufficient authority. It would be the most pleasing act of my life, to restore them with honour to their families. Nothing would pain me more than that any other sentiments should be felt towards them than those of gratitude and esteem. On all occasions, it has been

my highest happiness to promote their interest, and even to gratify their wishes, where, with propriety, it could be done. When in the lower country, believing that, in order for their dismissal, they had been improperly treated, I even solicited the government to discharge them, finally, from the obligations into which they had entered. You know the answer of the secretary of war;—that neither he nor the president, as he believed, had the power to discharge them. How, then, can it be required of me to do so?

88. “The moment it is signified to me by any competent authority, even by the governor of Tennessee, to whom I have written on the subject, or by General Pinckney, who is now appointed to the command, that the volunteers may be exonerated from further service, that moment I will pronounce it, with the greatest satisfaction. I have only the power of pronouncing a discharge,—not of giving it, in any case;—a distinction which I would wish should be borne in mind. Already have I sent to raise volunteers, on my responsibility, to complete a campaign which has been so happily begun, and thus far so fortunately prosecuted. The moment they arrive, and I am assured that, fired by our exploits, they will hasten in crowds, on the first intimation that we need their services, they will be substituted in the place of those who are discontented here; the latter will then be permitted to return to their homes, with all the honour which, under such circumstances, they can carry along with them. But I still cherish the hope, that their dissatisfaction and complaints have been greatly exaggerated. I cannot, must not believe, that the ‘Volunteers of Tennessee,’ a name ever dear to fame, will disgrace themselves, and a country which they have honoured, by abandoning her standard, as mutineers and deserters; but should I be disappointed, and compelled to resign this pleasing hope, one thing I will not resign—my duty. Mutiny and sedition, so long as I possess the power of quelling them, shall be put down; and even when left destitute of this, I will still be found, in the last extremity, endeavouring to discharge the duty I owe my country and myself.”

89. To the platoon officers, who addressed him on the same subject, he replied with nearly the same spirited feeling; but discontent was too deeply fastened, and by designing men had been too artfully fomented, to be removed by any thing like argument or entreaty. At length, on the evening of the 9th of December, 1813, General Hall hastened to the tent of Jackson with information that his whole brigade was in a state of mutiny, and making preparations to move forcibly off. This

was a measure which every consideration of policy, duty, and honour, required Jackson to oppose; and to this purpose he instantly applied all the means he possessed. He immediately issued the following general order:—"The commanding general being informed that an actual mutiny exists in his camp, all officers and soldiers are commanded to put it down. The officers and soldiers of the first brigade will, without delay, parade on the west side of the fort, and await further orders." The artillery company, with two small field-pieces, being posted in the front and rear, and the militia, under the command of Colonel Wynne, on the eminences, in advance, were ordered to prevent any forcible departure of the volunteers.

90. The general rode along the line, which had been previously formed agreeably to his orders, and addressed them, by companies, in a strain of impassioned eloquence. He feelingly expatiated on their former good conduct, and the esteem and applause it had secured them; and pointed to the disgrace which they must heap upon themselves, their families, and country, by persisting, even if they could succeed, in their present mutiny. He told them, however, they should not succeed but by passing over his body; that even in opposing their mutinous spirit, he should perish honourably—by perishing at his post, and in the discharge of his duty. "Reinforcements"—he continued, "are preparing to hasten to my assistance: it cannot be long before they will arrive. I am, too, in daily expectation of receiving information whether you may be discharged or not—until then, you must not, and shall not retire. I have done with entreaty,—it has been used long enough.—I will attempt it no more. You must now determine whether you will go or peaceably remain: if you still persist in your determination to move forcibly off, the point between us shall soon be decided." At first they hesitated;—he demanded an explicit and positive answer. They still hesitated, and he commanded the artillerist to prepare the match; he himself remaining in front of the volunteers, and within the line of fire, which he intended soon to order. Alarmed at his apparent determination, and dreading the consequences involved in such a contest; "Let us return," was presently lisped along the line, and soon after determined upon. The officers now came forward and pledged themselves for their men, who either nodded assent, or openly expressed a willingness to retire to their quarters, and remain without further tumult, until information were had or the expected aid should arrive. Thus passed away a moment of the greatest peril, and pregnant with important consequences.

91. This matchless and ever-memorable scene, the reader will observe, took place on the 10th of December, 1813; the volunteers having formed their first rendezvous, as he will recollect, on the 10th of December, 1812. One year had certainly expired; but there had not been a year's service; for they had not been in service from the 1st of May to the 10th of October, 1813; so that there remained five months of the year's service to come. The general was right in his construction of the bargain; but, besides this, to have forsaken the campaign in such a manner, would have been ruinous in the extreme: the savage enemy not yet subdued, but exasperated to the last degree, would have assailed the unprotected frontiers, and have drenched in the blood of the defenceless citizens.

92. This difficulty got over was by no means the last which he had to encounter: discontents were everlastingly rising up in his army; the Governor of Tennessee recommended him to abandon his enterprise; he had to reject this advice with scorn. One general retired with his brigade; opposition after opposition he met with from different officers, yet he proceeded on to assault the blood-thirsty enemy, in spite of every impediment; though he had to imprison officers, to hang a militia soldier, and to do things which it appears almost to require credulity unbounded to believe to be true. Finally, however, he succeeded; he subdued the savage tribes; he reduced them to sue for pardon and for peace; he concluded a treaty with them; took them out of the hands of the more crafty and more powerful enemy of America; and cleared the way for a battle, single-handed, with the British, on the Gulf of Mexico; and, finally at New Orleans.

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## CHAPTER IV.

FROM APRIL 1814 TO DECEMBER 1814.

*Perfidious conduct of the Spanish Governor of Pensacola.—Jackson's remonstrance.—Nicholls' Proclamation.—Defeat of the British at Fort Bowyer, by Major Lawrence.—Reduction of Pensacola, and retreat of the British.—Jackson's arrival at New Orleans.—Preparations made by the British for the reduction of New Orleans.*

93. He was now (spring of 1814) appointed to be a major-general in the service of the United States. The protection of the coast, near the mouths of the Mississippi, was entrusted

to him ; and his first attention was turned to the comfort, the encouragement, the protection, which the savages received from the Spanish governor, and Spanish authorities, in the fortress of Pensacola ; which is situated on the Gulf of Mexico, at about a hundred miles distance from New Orleans, about thirty miles from the frontiers of the State of Alabama, and about a hundred miles from the main fastness of the Creek Indians. His opinion was, that the savages were always receiving assistance from this Spanish garrison, and from the British, through the means of that garrison ; and he was persuaded that, finally, the British would assail New Orleans by the means of preparations made at Pensacola. On his way to the south, he learnt that about three hundred British troops had landed, and were fortifying themselves at no great distance from Pensacola. In this state of things, he endeavoured to prevail upon the Spanish governor to desist from all acts injurious to the United States. The Spanish governor shuffled at first, and afterwards lied as boldly as a harlot, or a *valet de chambre*. By this time, and before this time, the news had been received of the fall of Napoleon, and of his banishment to Elba. This event had inspired with new villany, and new courage, every villain upon the face of this earth. This Spanish garrison was, in fact, a rendezvous for the British : it was a rendezvous for the savages, enemies of the United States. Captain Gordon, sent by Jackson to see what was passing, in the month of August (1814), reported to the general, that he had seen from fifty to two hundred officers and soldiers, a park of artillery, about five hundred savages under the drill of British officers, and dressed in the English uniform. He wrote to the government, and remonstrated with it upon the subject of its timidity in permitting this. The secretary at war, that same Armstrong that we have mentioned before, in the 2nd chapter, coincided with him in opinion upon this point, and, indeed, authorized him to attack Pensacola ; but, though this letter bore date of the 18th of July 1814, *it was never received by Jackson until the 17th of January, 1815* ; that is to say, nine days after the British army had been partly slaughtered, and partly driven into the sea before New Orleans ! After writing this letter, this same Armstrong took care to leave the city of Washington totally deprived of all defence. It is impossible to believe that there was not treason here ; at the very least it was a contrivance to have in reserve the grounds of throwing the blame of failure upon Jackson.

94. Mobile is a fort belonging to the Americans, at the head of a little bay in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the territory of

Alabama. To the Mobile he repaired. There he learned that the approach of a great British force might be expected ; and that the final object was, the capture of the city of New Orleans. At this time (August, 1814) Colonel Nicholls of the British army arrived at Pensacola, whence he issued a proclamation to the southern and western inhabitants of the United States ; and from that garrison he issued his proclamation, every word and every syllable of which ought to be remembered for ages by the people of England, as well as the people of America.

*Proclamation of Colonel Nicholls to the southern and western inhabitants.*

Natives of Louisiana ! on you the first call is made, to assist in liberating from a faithless, imbecile government, your paternal soil : Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians, and British, whether settled or residing for a time in Louisiana, on you, also, I call, to aid me in this just cause : the American usurpation in this country must be abolished, and the lawful owners of the soil put in possession. I am at the head of a large body of Indians, well armed, disciplined, and commanded by British officers—a good train of artillery, with every requisite, seconded by the powerful aid of a numerous British and Spanish squadron of ships and vessels of war. Be not alarmed, inhabitants of the country, at our approach ; the same good faith and disinterestedness, which have distinguished the conduct of Britons in Europe, accompany them here ; you will have no fear of litigious taxes imposed on you for the purpose of carrying on an unnatural and unjust war ; your property, your laws, the peace and tranquillity of your country, will be guaranteed to you by men who will suffer no infringement of theirs ; rest assured that these brave red men only burn with an ardent desire of satisfaction for the wrongs they have suffered from the Americans ; to join you in liberating these southern provinces from their yoke, and drive them into those limits formerly prescribed by my sovereign. The Indians have pledged themselves, in the most solemn manner, not to injure, in the slightest degree, the persons or properties of any but enemies. A flag over any door, whether Spanish, French, or British, will be a certain protection ; nor dare any Indian put his foot on the threshold thereof, under penalty of death from his own countrymen ; not even an enemy will an Indian put to death, except resisting in arms ; and as for injuring helpless women and children, the red men, by their good conduct, and treatment to them, will (if it be possible) make the Americans blush for their more inhuman conduct, lately on the Escambia, and within a neutral territory.

Inhabitants of Kentucky, you have too long borne with grievous impositions—the whole brunt of the war has fallen on your brave sons ; be imposed on no longer, but either range yourselves under the standard of your forefathers, or observe a strict neutrality. If you comply with either of these offers, whatever provisions you send down, will be paid for in dollars, and the safety of the persons bringing it, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi, guaranteed to you.

Men of Kentucky, let me call to your view (and I trust to your abhorrence) the conduct of those factions which hurried you into this civil, unjust, and unnatural war, at a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve, in defence of her own, and the liberties of the world—when the bravest of her sons were fighting and bleeding in so

sacred a cause—when she was spending millions of her treasure in endeavouring to pull down one of the most formidable and dangerous tyrants that ever disgraced the form of man—when groaning Europe was almost in her last gasp—when Britons alone showed an undaunted front—basely did those assassins endeavour to stab her from the rear; she has turned on them, renovated from the bloody, but successful struggle—Europe is happy and free, and she now hastens, justly, to avenge the unprovoked insult. Show them that you are not collectively unjust: leave that contemptible few to shift for themselves: let those slaves of the tyrant send an embassy to Elba, and implore his aid; but let every honest, upright American spurn them with united contempt. After the experience of twenty-one years, can you longer support those brawlers for liberty, who call it freedom, when themselves are free? Be no longer their dupes—accept of my offers—everything I have promised in this paper, I guarantee to you, on the sacred honour of a British officer,

Given under my hand, at my head-quarters,

Pensacola, this 29th day of August, 1814.

EDWARD NICHOLLS.

95. I am aware that the reader will laugh at this “sacred honour of a British officer,” who says, that he is “coming at the head of a *large body of savages*,” and who tells them, that he will “free them from *litigious taxes*.” I wonder whether we in England are now paying taxes to keep this Colonel Nicholls and his family. However, here is this man of “sacred honour” telling the Americans, that his “*head quarters*” are at Pensacola; though the scoundrel Spaniard pleaded his neutrality.

96. The first act of hostility here, on the part of the British, was on a fort, called Fort Bowyer, on the Mobile. On the 15th of September, 1814, Nicholls and Woodbine approached by land, while several vessels approached by sea, mounting altogether ninety guns. This expedition ended in the blowing up of one of the English ships, greatly damaging another, and sending off the proclamation-maker, with the loss of one of his ships, and, as was said, one of his eyes. Major Lawrence commanded in the American fort. His brave band consisted of only one hundred and thirty men; while the force of the British was, as we have seen, ninety guns by sea, while Nicholls and Woodbine assaulted the fort by land, with a twelve-pound howitzer, and several hundreds of marines, sailors, and savages. This was an affair singularly honourable to Major Lawrence and his men. The disparity of force was incredible; and this disgraceful beating at the outset must have had a considerable effect upon the enemy. Jackson was, however, resolved to break up the rendezvous of Pensacola; and, on the 6th of November, 1814, he marched against it, demolished all its defences and protections; drove out the British and the savages, and taught Nicholls



and the Spanish governor, that, though Bonaparte was banished to Elba, there was still one country left which was not to be insulted with impunity, by the satellites of despotism.

97. Having given the haughty and insolent foe a foretaste of that which was to come, he repaired to that which was to be the grand scene of action. He arrived at the city of New Orleans on the 1st of December, 1814. News had been received of the approach of a British fleet. The first intelligence of this sort was received on the 4th of December. Cochrane, who commanded the British fleet, and who had the celebrated Sir George Cockburn under him, had collected all their forces together, after they had been beaten off from before Baltimore, and had sailed off for New Orleans, whither Nicholls had been sent before to prepare the way for the proclamation which we have just seen issued from his head quarters at Pensacola. They were to be joined, as they afterwards were, by a strong body of the "heroes of the Peninsula." Their force altogether was prodigious: ships of the line, frigates, sloops of war, fire-ships, great numbers of furnaces to heat red-hot shot; Congreve rockets; all manner of materials for sapping and mining and blowing up: an expedition costing, in all probability, more than a million of pounds sterling in the fitting out. There were eleven thousand regular "heroes of the Peninsula;" there were four generals, two admirals, at the least; twelve thousand, at the least, of seamen and marines, artillery, in abundance, of all sorts; perhaps, a hundred gun-boats and barges; and every expense ready to be incurred for the employment of persons of all sorts; besides numerous bands of savages ready to come in, if the attack had succeeded. Here, after all, there was nothing equal to the perils of the Indian campaign; but there was quite enough to daunt any man that ever lived, except the man who had to face all this.

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## CHAPTER V.

FROM THE 1st OF DECEMBER 1814 TO MARCH 1815.

*Defence of New Orleans.—Jackson is beset with traitors and spies.—Arms not sent to him.—Enemy lands on the 23rd of December.—He marches in the night and drives them back.—Divers smaller engagements.—The traitors in the assembly and in the town conspire against him.—Defeats the British with great slaughter, 8th of January.—Drives them out of the country.—His farewell address to his army.—The sneaking account given by the British government of this important transaction.*

98. We have seen that Jackson, having received intelligence which made him believe, and quite certain, indeed, that the intention of the British was to get possession of the mouths of the Mississippi, of the whole state of Louisiana, and particularly of that rich prize, the city of New Orleans, crammed with sugar, coffee, flour, cotton, and all sorts of merchandise, repaired thither; that is to say, to the city itself, on the 1st of December, 1814. On the 6th of December, he received certain intelligence that a large British force was off the port of Pensacola, destined against New Orleans; that it amounted to about eighty vessels, and that more than double that number were momentarily looked for to form a junction with those already arrived; that there were in this fleet vessels of all descriptions, contrived for the most deadly purposes, with a large body of land troops. That Admiral Cochrane had the command, and that his ship, the *Tonnant*, was then (4th December) lying off Pensacola.

99. The hour now arrived, then, in which was to be tried the naked courage of undisciplined Americans against the beat that Great Britain was able to produce, with every advantage to boot. Without stopping to relate the preliminary movements, and all the preparations for attack made by the British, I come, at once, to the beginning of the fighting, which took place on the 23rd of December, when, in the evening, the British made a landing, and when Jackson resolved, at all events, to march and give them battle. I must stop here, however, to observe on something much more interesting than the mere fighting: it is not mere fighting that will depict to us the true character of a general and a statesman. Here Jackson had to contend against difficulties and dangers of every description. The comparatively small number, and the want of discipline of his troops, I do not reckon amongst his difficulties; but treason, in every quarter and corner of the city and the state, which he had to defend;

spies continually communicating with the enemy; base and cowardly French and Spanish merchants, and paper money makers, all puffed up with exultation at the triumph of the despots of Europe and the banishment of Napoleon to Elba (events which had just taken place), and all full of the hope and expectation, that Jackson and his army would be cut to pieces (it being to be observed, that this state of Louisiana had been purchased from the French by the Americans no longer before than in the year 1811); newspaper traitors endeavouring to sow discontent in his army, and when he imprisoned the author, a traitor judge found to order his release on a habeas corpus, whereupon he imprisoned the traitor judge; but, above all things, a want of arms, owing to the scandalous neglect of officers of the federal government, which made it perilous for him to suffer communication between even his own lines, it being absolutely necessary for him to keep from the enemy a knowledge of his unarmed and destitute situation. These things, much more than the force of the enemy, and all their immense means of attack, rendered his situation perilous. Driven to the extremity of proclaiming martial law, and of enforcing it with the utmost severity; there was he, with his handful of faithful men, who had come down to him, unarmed and unprovided, a distance of five hundred miles; with faithful generals and brother-officers, to be sure; but with a people to defend, who were ready to stab him in the back, while a powerful invading army was coming at him in front; and even with a legislative assembly proposing to capitulate with the enemy, and to surrender themselves, their city, and their state, to the mercy of that enemy.

100. It was with all these difficulties and dangers staring him in the face, that he boldly proceeded on to the deliverance of his country; and, now, we are going to enter on the most interesting details of his proceedings in effecting this deliverance.

101. On the 23rd of December, as has been before related, the enemy made a landing; and Jackson wanting to gain time to complete his lines, and also thinking it of importance to give the enemy a taste of the difficulties which he would have to overcome, determined to proceed to attack the enemy in the night of the 23rd of December. Generals Coffee and Carroll were ordered to proceed immediately from their encampment, and join him with all haste. Although four miles above, they arrived in the city in less than two hours after the order had been issued. These forces, with the seventh and forty-fourth regiments, the Louisiana troops, and Colonel Hind's dragoons, from Mississippi, constituted the strength of his army, which

could be carried into action against an enemy whose numbers, at this time, could only be conjectured. It was thought advisable that General Carroll and his division should be disposed in the rear, for the reason that there was no correct information of the force landed through Villery's canal, and because Jackson feared that this probably might be merely a feint intended to divert his attention, while a much stronger and more numerous division, having already gained some point higher on the lake, might, by advancing in his absence, gain his rear, and succeed in their designs. Uncertain of their movements, it was essential he should be prepared for the worst; and, by different dispositions of his troops, be ready to resist, in whatever quarter he might be assailed. Carroll, therefore, at the head of his division, and Governor Claiborne, with the state militia, were directed to take post on the Gentilly road, which leads from Chef Menteur to New Orleans, and to defend it to the last extremity.

102. Alarm pervaded the city. The marching and counter-marching of the troops, the proximity of the enemy, with the approaching contest, and uncertainty of the issue, had excited a general fear. Already might the British be on their way and at hand, before the necessary arrangements could be made to oppose them. To prevent this, Colonel Hayne, with two companies of riflemen, and the Mississippi dragoons, was sent forward to reconnoitre their camp, learn their position and their numbers, and if they should be found advancing, to harass and oppose them at every step, until the main body should arrive.

103. Every thing being ready, General Jackson commenced his march, to meet and fight the veteran troops of England. An inconsiderable circumstance, at this moment, evinced what unlimited confidence was reposed in his skill and bravery. As his troops were marching through the city, his ears were assailed with the screams and cries of innumerable females, who had collected on the way, and seemed to apprehend the worst of consequences. Feeling for their distresses, and anxious to quiet them, he directed Mr. Livingston, one of his aids-de-camp, to address them in the French language. "Say to them," said he, "not to be alarmed: the enemy shall never reach the city." It operated like an electric shock. To know that he himself was not apprehensive of a fatal result, inspired them with altered feelings; sorrow was ended, and their grief converted into hope and confidence.

104. The general arrived in view of the enemy a little before

dark. Having previously ascertained from Colonel Hayne, who had been sent in advance, their position, and that their strength was about two thousand men,\* he immediately concerted the mode of attack, and hastened to execute it. Commodore Patterson, who commanded the naval forces on this station, with Captain Henly, on board the *Caroline*, had been directed to drop down, anchor in front of their line, and open upon them from the guns of the schooner; this being the appointed signal, when given, the attack was to be waged simultaneously on all sides. The fires from their camp disclosed their position, and showed their encampment, formed with their left resting on the river, and extending at right angles into the open field. General Coffee, with his brigade, Colonel Hind's dragoons, and Captain Beal's company of riflemen, was ordered to oblique to the left, and, by a circuitous route, avoid their picquets, and endeavour to turn their right wing; having succeeded in this, to form his line, and press the enemy towards the river, where they would be exposed more completely to the fire of the *Caroline*. The rest of the troops, consisting of the regulars, Ploache's city volunteers, Daquin's coloured troops, the artillery under Lieutenant Spotts, supported by a company of marines commanded by Colonel M'Kee, advanced on the road along the bank of the Mississippi, and were commanded by Jackson in person.

105. General Coffee with silence and caution had advanced beyond their picquets, next the swamp, and nearly reached the point to which he was ordered, when a broadside from the *Caroline* announced the battle begun. Patterson had proceeded slowly, giving time, as he believed, for the execution of those arrangements contemplated on the shore. So sanguine had the British been in the belief that they would be kindly received, and little opposition attempted, that the *Caroline* floated by the sentinels, and anchored before their camp, without any kind of molestation. On passing the front picquet she was hailed in a low tone of voice, but not returning an answer, no further question was made. This, added to some other attendant circumstances, confirmed the opinion that they believed her a vessel laden with provisions, which had been sent out from New Orleans, and was intended for them. Having reached what, from their fires, appeared to be the centre of their encampment,

\* This opinion, as it afterwards appeared, was incorrect. The number of the British, at the commencement of the action, was three thousand, and was shortly afterwards increased by additional forces: Jackson's strength did not exceed two thousand.

her anchors were cast, and her character and business disclosed from her guns. So unexpected an attack produced a momentary confusion; but recovering, she was answered by a discharge of musketry, and flight of Congreve rockets, which passed without injury, while the grape and canister from her guns were pouring destructively on them. To take away the certainty of aim afforded by the light from their fires, these were immediately extinguished, and they retired two or three hundred yards into the open field, if not out of the reach of the cannon, at least to a distance, where, by the darkness of the night, they would be protected.

106. Coffee had dismounted his men, and turned his horses loose, at a large ditch, next the swamp, in the rear of Larond's plantation, and gained, as he believed, the centre of the enemy's line, when the signal from the Caroline reached him. He directly wheeled his columns in, and extending his line parallel with the river, moved towards their camp. He had advanced scarcely more than a hundred yards, when he received a heavy fire, from a line formed in his front; this, to him, was an unexpected circumstance, as he supposed the enemy lying principally at a distance, and that the only opposition he should meet, until he approached towards the levee,\* would be from their advanced picquets. The circumstance of his coming in contact with them so soon, was owing to the severe attack of the schooner, which had compelled the enemy to abandon their camp, and form without the reach of her guns. The moon shone, but reflected her light too feebly to discover objects at a distance. The only means, therefore, of producing certain effect, with the kind of force engaged, which consisted chiefly of riflemen, was not to venture at random, but to discharge their pieces only when there should be a certainty of felling the object. This order being given, the line pressed on, and having gained a position near enough to distinguish, a general fire was given; it was well directed, and too severe and destructive to be withstood; the enemy gave way and retreated,—rallied,—formed,—were charged, and again retreated. The gallant yeomanry, led by their brave commander, urged fearlessly on, and drove their invaders from every position they attempted to maintain. Their

\* Banks thrown up on the margin of the river to confine the stream to its bed; and which are extended along the Mississippi on both sides, from the termination of the highlands, near Baton Rouge. Frequently the river in its vernal floods rises above the elevation of the plains, and then the security of the country depends on the strength of those levees; they not unfrequently break, when incalculable injury is the consequence.

general was under no necessity to encourage and allure them to deeds of valour : his own example was sufficient to excite them. Always in the midst, he displayed a coolness and disregard of danger, calling to his troops, that they had often said they could fight—now was the time to prove it.

107. The British, driven back by the resolute firmness and ardour of the assailants, had now reached a grove of orange trees, with a ditch running past it, protected by a fence on the margin. Here they were halted and formed for battle. It was a favourable position, promising security, and was occupied with a confidence they could not be forced to yield it. Coffee's dauntless yeomanry, strengthened in their hopes of success, moved on, nor discovered the advantages against them, until a fire from the entire British line showed their position and defence. A sudden check was given ; but it was only momentary, for gathering fresh ardour, they charged across the ditch, gave a deadly and destructive fire, and forced them to retire. The retreat continued, until gaining a similar position, the British made another stand, and were again driven from it with considerable loss.

108. Thus the battle raged on the left wing, until the British reached the bank of the river ; here a determined stand was made, and further encroachments resisted : for half an hour the conflict was extremely violent on both sides. The American troops could not be driven from their purpose, nor the British made to yield their ground ; but at length, having suffered greatly, the latter were under the necessity of taking refuge behind the levee, which afforded a breast-work, and protected them from the fatal fire of our riflemen. Coffee, unacquainted with their position, for the darkness had greatly increased, already contemplated again to charge them ; but one of his officers, who had discovered the advantage their situation gave them, assured him it was too hazardous ; that they could be driven no further, and would, from the point they occupied, resist with the bayonet, and repel, with considerable loss, any attempt that might be made to dislodge them. The place of their retirement was covered in front by a strong bank, which had been extended into the field, to keep out the river, in consequence of the first being encroached upon, and undermined in several places : the former, however, was still entire in many parts, which, interposing between them and the Mississippi, afforded security from the broadsides of the schooner, which lay off at some distance. A further apprehension, lest, by moving still nearer to the river, he might greatly expose himself to the fire

of the Caroline, which was yet spiritedly maintaining the conflict, induced Coffee to retire until he could hear from the commanding general, and receive his further orders.

109. During this time the right wing, under Jackson, had been no less prompt and active. A detachment of artillery, under Lieutenant Spotts, supported by sixty marines, and constituting the advance, had moved down the road next the levee. On their left was the seventh regiment of infantry, led by Major Piere. The forty-fourth, commanded by Major Baker, was formed on the extreme left; while Plauche's and Daquin's battalions of city guards were directed to be posted in the centre, between the seventh and forty-fourth. The general had ordered Colonel Ross, who during the night acted in the capacity of brigadier-general, for he was without a brigadier, on hearing the signal from the Caroline, to move off by heads of companies, and, on reaching the enemy's line, to deploy, and unite the left wing of his command with the right of General Coffee's. This order was omitted to be executed; and the consequence was an early introduction of confusion in the ranks, whereby was prevented the important design of uniting the two divisions.

110. Instead of moving in column from the first position, the troops, with the exception of the seventh regiment, next the person of the general, which advanced agreeably to the instructions that had been given, were formed and marched in extended line. Having sufficient ground to form on at first, no inconvenience was at the moment sustained; but this advantage presently failing, the centre became compressed, and was forced in the rear. The river, from where they were formed, gradually inclined to the left, and diminished the space originally possessed: farther in stood Larond's house, surrounded by a grove of clustered orange trees: this pressing the left, and the river the right wing to the centre, formed a curve, which presently threw the principal part of Plauche's and Daquin's battalions without the line. This inconvenience might have been remedied, but for the briskness of the advance, and for the darkness of the night. A heavy fire from behind a fence, immediately before them, had brought the enemy to view. Acting in obedience to their orders, not to waste their ammunition at random, our troops had pressed forward against the opposition in their front, and thereby threw those battalions in the rear.

111. A fog rising from the river, and which, added to the smoke from the guns, was covering the plain, gradually diminished the little light shed by the moon, and greatly increased the darkness of the night: no clue was left to ascertain how or



where the enemy were situated. There was no alternative but to move on, in the direction of their fire, which subjected the assailants to material disadvantages. The British, driven from their first position, had retired back, and occupied another, behind a deep ditch, that ran out of the Mississippi towards the swamp, on the margin of which was a wood-railed fence. Here, strengthened by increased numbers, they again opposed the advance of our troops. Having waited until they had approached sufficiently near to be discovered, from their fastnesses they discharged a fire upon the advancing army. Instantly our battery was formed, and poured destructively upon them; while the infantry, pressing forward, aided in the conflict, which at this point was for some time spiritedly maintained. At this moment a brisk sally was made upon our advance, when the marines, unequal to the assault, were already giving way. The adjutant-general, and Colonels Piatt and Chotard, with a part of the seventh, hastening to their support, drove the enemy, and saved the artillery from capture. General Jackson, perceiving the decided advantages which were derived from the position they occupied, ordered their line to be charged. It was obeyed with cheerfulness, and executed with promptness. Pressing on, our troops gained the ditch, and, pouring across it a well-aimed fire, compelled them to retreat, and to abandon their entrenchment. The plain, on which they were contending, was cut to pieces, by races from the river, to convey the water to the swamp. The enemy were, therefore, very soon enabled to occupy another position, equally favourable with the one whence they had been just driven, where they formed for battle, and for sometime gallantly maintained themselves; but which, at length, and after stubborn resistance, they were forced to yield.

112. The enemy, discovering the firm and obstinate advance made by the right wing of the American army, and presuming perhaps that its principal strength was posted on the road, formed the intention of attacking violently the left. Obliquing, for this purpose, an attempt was made to turn it. At this moment, Daquin's and the battalion of city guards being marched up, and formed on the left of the forty-fourth regiment, met and repulsed them.

113. The particular moment of the contest prevented many of those benefits which might have been derived from the artillery. The darkness of the night was such, that the blaze of the enemy's musketry was the only light afforded by which to determine their position, or be capable of taking our own to advantage; yet, notwithstanding, it greatly annoyed them, whenever

it could be brought to bear. Directed by Ditchamier Spotts, a vigilant and skilful officer, with men to aid him who looked to nothing but a zealous discharge of their duty, the most essential and important services were rendered.

114. The enemy had been thrice assailed and beaten, and for nearly a mile compelled to yield their ground. They had now retired, and, if found, were to be sought for amidst the darkness of the night. The general determined to halt, and ascertain Coffee's position and success, previously to waging the battle further; for as yet no communication had passed between them. He entertained no doubt, from the brisk firing in that direction, but that he had been warmly engaged; but this had now nearly subsided; the Caroline, too, had almost ceased her operations; it being only occasionally that the noise of her guns disclosed the little opportunity she possessed of acting efficiently.

115. The express dispatched to General Jackson from the left wing having reached him, he determined to prosecute the successes he had gained no further. The darkness of the night, the confusion into which his own division had been thrown, and a similar disaster produced on the part of Coffee, all pointed to the necessity of retiring from the field, and abandoning the contest. The bravery and firmness already displayed by his troops, had induced with him a belief that by pressing forward he might capture the whole British army; at any rate, he considered it but a game of venture and hazard, which, if unsuccessful, could not occasion his own defeat. If incompetent to its execution, and superior numbers, or superior discipline, should compel him to recede from the effort, he well knew the enemy would not have temerity enough to attempt pursuit. The extreme darkness, their entire ignorance of the situation of the country, and an apprehension lest their forces might be greatly outnumbered, afforded sufficient reasons on which to ground a belief, that although beaten from his purpose, he would yet have it in his power to retire in safety; but on the arrival of the express from General Coffee, learning the strong position to which the enemy had retired, and that a part of the left wing had been detached, and were in all probability captured, he determined to retire from the contest, nor attempt a further prosecution of his successes. General Coffee was accordingly directed to withdraw, and take a position at Larond's plantation, where the line had been first formed; and thither the troops on the right were also ordered to be marched.

116. The last change made by the left wing had separated

from the main body, Colonel Dyer and Gibson, with two hundred men, and Captain Beal's company of riflemen. What might be their fate, whether they were captured or had effected their retreat, was, at this time, altogether uncertain; be that as it might, Coffee's command was thereby considerably weakened.

117. Colonel Dyer, who commanded the extreme left, on clearing the grove, after the enemy had retired, was marching in a direction where he expected to find General Coffee; he very soon discovered a force in front, and halting his men, hastened towards it; arriving within a short distance, he was hailed, ordered to stop, and report to whom he belonged: Dyer, and Gibson, his lieutenant-colonel, who had accompanied him, advanced and stated they were of Coffee's brigade; by this time they had arrived within a short distance of the line, and perceiving that the name of the brigade they had stated was not understood, their apprehensions were awakened, lest it might be a detachment of the enemy; in this opinion they were immediately confirmed, and wheeling to return, were fired on and pursued. Gibson had scarcely started when he fell; before he could recover, a soldier quicker than the rest had reached him, and pinned him to the ground with his bayonet; fortunately the stab had but slightly wounded him, and he was only held by his clothes: thus pinioned, and perceiving others to be briskly advancing, but a moment was left for deliberation;—making a violent exertion, and springing to his feet, he threw his assailant to the ground, and made good his retreat. Colonel Dyer had retreated about fifty yards, when his horse dropped dead; entangled in the fall, and slightly wounded in the thigh, there was little prospect of relief, for the enemy were briskly advancing; his men being near at hand, he ordered them to advance and fire, which checked their approach, and enabled him to escape. Being now at the head of his command,—perceiving an enemy in a direction he had not expected, and uncertain how or where he might find General Coffee, he determined to seek him to the right, and moving on with his little band, forced his way through the enemy's lines, with the loss of sixty-three of his men, who were killed and taken. Captain Beal, with equal bravery, charged through the enemy, carrying off some prisoners, and losing several of his own company.

118. This reinforcement of the British had arrived from Bayou Bienvenu after night. The boats that landed the first detachment had proceeded back to the shipping, and having returned were on their way up the Bayou, when they heard the guns of the Caroline; moving hastily on to the assistance

of those who had debarked before them, they reached the shore, and knowing nothing of the situation of the two armies, during the engagement advanced in the rear of General Coffee's brigade. Coming in contact with Colonel Dyer and Captain Beal, they fled off to the left, and reached the British lines.

119. This detached part of Coffee's brigade, unable to unite with or find him, retired to the place where they had first formed, and joined Colonel Hinds' dragoons, which had remained on the ground where the troops had first dismounted, that they might cover their retreat if it became necessary.

120. Jackson had gone into this battle confident of success; and his arrangements were such as would have ensured it, even to a much greater extent, but for the intervention of circumstances that were not and could not be foreseen. The Caroline had given her signals, and commenced the battle, a little too early, before Coffee had reached and taken his position, and before every thing was fully in readiness, to attain the objects designed: but it was chiefly owing to the confusion introduced at first into the ranks, which checked the rapidity of his advance — gave the enemy time for preparation, and prevented his division from uniting with the right wing of General Coffee's brigade.

121. Colonel Hinds, with one hundred and eighty dragoons, was not brought into action during the night. Interspersed as the plain was with innumerable ditches diverging in different directions, it was impossible that cavalry could act to any kind of advantage: they were now formed in advance, to watch, until morning, the movements of the enemy.

122. From the experiments just made, Jackson believed it would be in his power, on renewing the attack, to capture the British army: he concluded, therefore, to order down to his assistance General Carroll with his division, and to assail them again at the dawn of day. Directing Governor Claiborne to remain at his post, with the Louisiana militia, for the defence of an important pass to the city, the Gentilly road, he dispatched an express to Carroll, stating to him, that, if there had been no appearance of a force during the night, in the direction of Chef Menteur, to hasten and join him with the troops under his command: this order was executed by one o'clock in the morning. Previously, however, to his arrival, a different determination was made. From prisoners who had been brought in, and through deserters, it was ascertained that the strength of the enemy during the battle was four thousand, and, with the

reinforcements which had reached them after its commencement, and during the action, their force could not be less than six;—at any rate, it would greatly exceed his own, even after the Tennessee division should be added. Although very decided advantages had been obtained, yet they had been procured under circumstances that might be wholly lost in a contest waged in open day, between forces so disproportionate, and by undisciplined troops, against veteran soldiers. Jackson well knew it was incumbent upon him to act a part entirely defensive: should the attempt to gain and destroy the city succeed, numerous difficulties would present themselves, which might be avoided, so long as he could hold the enemy in check, and halt him in his designs. Prompted by these considerations—that it was important to pursue a course calculated to assure safety; and believing it attainable in no way so effectually as in occupying some point, and by the strength he might give it compensate for the inferiority of his numbers and their want of discipline, he determined to forbear all further offensive efforts until he could more certainly discover the views of the enemy, and until the Kentucky troops, which had not yet arrived, should reach him. Pursuing this idea, at four o'clock in the morning, having ordered Colonel Hinds to occupy the ground he was then abandoning, and to observe the enemy closely, he fell back, and formed his line behind a deep ditch, that stretched to the swamp at right angles from the river. There were two circumstances strongly recommending the importance of this place: the swamp, which from the high lands at Baton Rouge skirts the river at irregular distances, and in many places is almost impervious, had here approached within four hundred yards of the Mississippi, and hence, from the narrowness of the pass, was more easily to be defended; added to which, there was a deep canal, whence the dirt being thrown on the upper side, already formed a tolerable work of defence. Behind this, his troops were formed, and proper measures adopted for increasing its strength, with a determination never to abandon it; but there to resist to the last, and valiantly to defend those rights which were sought to be outraged and destroyed.

123. Promptitude, and decision, and activity in execution, constituted the leading traits of Jackson's character. No sooner had he resolved on the course, which he thought necessary to be pursued, than with every possible dispatch he hastened to its completion. Before him was an army proud of its name, and distinguished for its deeds of valour. Opposed to which was his own unbending spirit, and an inferior, undisciplined and unarmed

force. He conceived, therefore, that his was a defensive policy, that by prudence and caution he would be able to preserve what offensive operation might have a tendency to endanger. Hence, with activity and industry, based on a hope of ultimate success, he commenced his plan of defence, determining to fortify himself effectually, as the peril and pressure of the moment would permit. When to expect attack he could not tell; preparation and readiness to meet it was for him to determine on, all else was for the enemy. Promptly, therefore, he proceeded with his system of defence; and with such thoughtfulness and anxiety, that until the night of the 27th, when his line was completed, he never slept, or for a moment closed his eyes. Resting his hope of safety here, he was everywhere, through the night, present, encouraging his troops, and hastening a completion of the work. The concern and excitement produced by the mighty object before him were such as overcame the demand of nature, and for five days and four nights he was without sleep and constantly employed. His line of defence being completed on the night of the 27th, he, for the first time since the arrival of the enemy, retired to rest and repose.

124. The soldier who has stood the shock of battle, and knows what slight circumstances oftentimes produce decided advantages, will be able properly to appreciate the events of this night. Although the dreadful carnage of the 8th of January, hereafter to be told, was in fact the finishing blow, that struck down the towering hopes of those invaders, and put an end to the contest, yet in the battle of the 23rd is there to be found abundant cause why success resulted to our arms, and safety was given to the country. The British had reached the Mississippi without the fire of a gun, and encamped upon its banks as composedly as if they had been seated on their own soil, and at a distance from all danger. These were circumstances which awakened a belief that they expected little opposition,—were certain of success,—and that the troops with whom they were to contend would scarcely venture to resist them: resting thus confidently in the expectation of success, they would the next day have moved forward, and succeeded in the accomplishment of their designs. Jackson, convinced that an early impression was essential to ultimate success, had resolved to assail them at the moment of their landing, and “attack them in their first position:” we have, therefore, seen him, with a force inferior by one half to that of the enemy, at an unexpected moment break into their camp, and with his undisciplined yeomanry drive before him the pride of England, and the conquerors of Europe.

It was an event that could not fail to destroy all previous theories, and establish a conclusion which our enemy had not before formed, that they were contending against valour inferior to none they had seen;—before which their own bravery had not stood, nor their skill availed them; it had the effect of satisfying them, that the quantity and kind of troops it was in our power here to wield, must be different from any thing that had been represented to them; for much as they had heard of the courage of the man with whom they were contending, they could not suppose, that a general having a country to defend, and a reputation to preserve, would venture to attack on their own chosen ground a greatly superior army, and one which, by the numerous victories it had achieved, had already acquired a fame in arms; they were convinced that his force must greatly surpass what they had expected, and be composed of materials different from what they had imagined.

125. The American troops, which were actually engaged, did not amount to two thousand men: they consisted of part of			
Coffee's brigade and Captain Beal's company,	-	-	648
The 7th and 44th regiments,	-	-	763
Company of marines and artillery,	-	-	82
Plauche's and Daquin's battalions,	-	-	488
And the Mississippi dragoons under Colonel Hinds, not in the action,	}		186

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which for a more than an hour maintained a severe conflict with a force of four or five thousand, and retired in safety from the ground, with the loss of but twenty-four killed, and one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four made prisoners; while the killed, wounded, and prisoners of the enemy, were not less than four hundred.

126. Our officers and soldiers executed every order with promptitude, and nobly sustained their country's character. Lieutenant-colonel Lauderdale, of Coffee's brigade, an officer of great promise, and on whom every reliance was placed, fell at his post, and at his duty: he had entered the service, and descended the river with the volunteers under General Jackson, in the winter of 1812—passed through all the hardships and difficulties of the Creek war, and had ever manifested a readiness to act when his country needed his services. Young, brave, and skilful, he had already afforded evidences of a capacity, which might, in future, have become useful; his exemplary conduct, both in civil and military life, had acquired for him a respect

that rendered his fall a subject of general regret. Lieutenant M'Lelland, a valuable young officer of the 7th, was also among the number of the slain.

127. Coffee's brigade, during the action, imitating the example of their commander, bravely contended, and ably supported the character they had previously established. The unequal contest in which they were engaged never occurred to them; nor, for a moment, checked the rapidity of their advance. Had the British known they were merely riflemen, and without bayonets, a firm stand would have arrested their progress, and destruction or capture would have been the inevitable consequence; but this circumstance being unknown, every charge they made was crowned with success, producing discomfiture, and routing and driving superior numbers before them. Officers, from the highest to inferior grades, discharged what had been expected of them. Ensign Leach, of the 7th regiment, being wounded through the body, still remained at his post, and in the performance of his duty. Colonel Reuben Kemper, enterprising and self-collected, amidst the confusion introduced on the left wing, found himself at the head of a handful of men, detached from the main body, and in the midst of a party of the enemy: never did any man better exemplify the truth of the position, that discretion is sometimes the better part of valour: to attempt resistance was idle, and could only eventuate in destruction: with a mind unclouded by the peril that surrounded him, he sought and procured his safety through stratagem. Calling to a group of soldiers who were near, in a positive tone, he demanded of them where their regiment was: lost themselves, they were unable to answer; but supposing him one of their own officers, they assented to his orders, and followed him to his own line, where they were made prisoners.

128. The 7th regiment, commanded by Major Piere, and the 44th, under Major Baker, aided by Major Butler, gallantly maintained the conflict—forced the enemy from every secure position he attempted to occupy, and drove him a mile from the first point of attack. Confiding in themselves, and their general, who was constantly with them, exposed to danger and in the midst of the fight, inspiring by his ardour, and encouraging by his example, they advanced to the conflict, nor evinced a disposition to leave it until the prudence of their commander directed them to retire.

129. From the violence of the assault already made, the fears of the British had been greatly excited, to keep their apprehensions alive was considered important, with a view partially



interducing the government's confidence with which they had arrived on our shores, and to compel them to act for a time upon the defensive. To effect this, General Coffee, with his brigade, was ordered down on the morning of the 24th, to unite with Colonel Hinds, and make a show in the rear of Lacoste's plantation. The enemy, not yet recovered of the panic produced by the assault of the preceding evening, already believed it was in contemplation to urge another attack, and immediately formed themselves to repel it; but Coffee having succeeded in recovering some of his horses, which were wandering along the margin of the swamp, and in regaining part of the clothing which his troops had lost the night before, returned to the line, leaving them to conjecture the objects of his movement.

On the 30th, the scanty supply of clothes and blankets that remained to the soldiers, from their long and exposed marches, had been lost where they dismounted to meet the enemy. Their numbers were too limited, and the strength of their opponents too well ascertained, for any part of their force to remain and take care of what was left behind: it was so essential to hasten on, reach their destination, and be ready to act when the signal from the Caroline should announce their co-operation necessary, that no time was afforded them to secure their horses;—they were turned loose, and their recovery trusted entirely to chance. Although many were regained, many were lost; while most of the men remained. But with a single suit, to encounter, in the open field, and in swamps covered with water, the hardships of a camp, and the severity of winter. It is a circumstance which renders them to much credit, that under privations so severely oppressive, complaints or murmurs were never heard. This state of things fortunately was not of long continuance. The story of their sufferings and misfortunes was no sooner known, than the legislature appropriated a sum of money for their relief, which was greatly increased by subscriptions in the city and neighbourhood. Materials being purchased, the ladies, with that Christian charity and warmth of heart characteristic of their sex, at once exerted themselves in removing their distresses: all their industry was called into action, and in a little time the suffering soldier was relieved. Such generous conduct, in extending assistance at a moment when it was so much needed, while it conferred on these females the highest honour, could not fail to nerve the arm of the brave with new zeal for the defence of their benefactresses. This distinguished mark of their patriotism and benevolence is still remembered; and often these valiant men are heard to recount the dangers they

have passed, and with peculiar pride to dwell on the mingled honours and hardships of the campaign, they breathe a sentiment of gratitude to those who conferred upon them such distinguished marks of their kindness, and who, by timely interference, alleviated their misfortunes and their sufferings.

131. To present a check, and keep up a show of resistance, detachments of light troops were occasionally kept in front of the line, assailing and harassing the enemy's advanced posts whenever an opportunity was offered of acting to advantage. Every moment that could be gained, and every delay that could be extended to the enemy's attempts to reach the city, was of the utmost importance. The works were rapidly progressing, and hourly increasing in strength. The militia of the state were every day arriving, and every day the prospect of successful opposition was brightening.

132. The enemy still remained at his first encampment. To be in readiness to repel an assault when attempted, the most active exertions were made on the 24th and 25th. The canal covering the front of our line was deepened and widened, and a strong mud wall formed of the earth that had been originally thrown out. To prevent any approach until his system of defence should be in a state of greater forwardness, Jackson ordered the levee to be cut, about a hundred yards below the point he had occupied. The river being very high, a broad stream of water passed rapidly through the plain, of the depth of thirty or forty inches, which prevented any approach of troops on foot. Embrasures were formed, and two pieces of artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Spotts, early on the morning of the 24th, were placed in a position to rake the road leading up the levee.

133. He was under the constant apprehensions lest, in spite of his exertions below, the city might, through some other route, be reached and destroyed; and those fears were increased to-day, by a report that a strong force had arrived—debarked at the head of lake Borgne, and compelled an abandonment of the defence at Chef Menteur. This, however, proved to be unfounded: the enemy had not appeared in that direction, nor had the officer, to whom was entrusted the command of this fort, so much relied on, forgotten his duty or forsaken his post. Acting upon the statement that Major Lacoste had retired from the fort, and fallen back on bayou St. John, and incensed that orders, which from their importance should have been faithfully executed, had been thus lightly regarded, he hastened to inform him what he had understood, and to forbid his leaving

his position. "The battery I have placed under your command must be defended at all hazards. In you, and the valour of your troops, I repose every confidence ;—let me not be deceived. With us every thing goes on well ; the enemy has not yet advanced. Our troops have covered themselves with glory : it is a noble example, and worthy to be followed by all. Maintain your post, nor ever think of retreating." To give additional strength to a place deemed so important, inspire confidence, and ensure safety, Colonel Dyer, and two hundred men, were ordered here to assist in its defence, and act as videttes, in advance of the occupied points.

134. General Morgan, who at the English turn commanded the fort on the east bank of the river, was instructed to proceed as near the enemy's camp as prudence and safety would permit, and, by destroying the levee, to let in the waters of the Mississippi between them. The execution of this order, and a similar one previously made below the line of defence, had entirely insulated the enemy, and prevented his march against either place. On the 26th, however, the commanding general fearing for the situation of Morgan, who, from the British occupying the intermediate ground, was entirely detached from his camp, directed him to abandon his encampment, carry off such of the cannon as might be wanted, and throw the remainder into the river, where they could be again recovered when the waters receded ; to retire to the other side of the river, and assume a position on the right bank, nearly opposite to his line, and have it fortified. This movement was imposed by the relative disposition of the two armies. Necessity, not choice, made it essential that St. Leon should be abandoned.

135. From every intelligence, obtained through deserters and prisoners, it was evident that the British fleet would make an effort to ascend the river, and co-operate with the troops already landed. Lest this, or a diversion in a different quarter, might be attempted, exertions were made to be able to resist at all points, and to interpose such defences on the Mississippi as might assure protection. The forts on the river, well supported with brave men, and heavy pieces of artillery, might, perhaps, have the effect to deter their shipping from venturing in that direction, and dispose them to seek some safer route, if any could be discovered. Pass Barrataria was best calculated for this purpose, and here, in all probability, it was expected the effort might be made. The difficulty of ascending the Mississippi, from the rapidity of the current, its winding course, and the ample protection already given at forts St. Philip and Bour-

bon. were circumstances to which it was not to be inferred the British were strangers : nor was it to be expected, that, with a knowledge of them, they would venture here the success of an enterprise on which so much depended. It was a more rational conjecture that they would seek a passage through Barrataria—proceed up on the right bank of the river, and gain a position whence, co-operating with the forces on the east side, they might drive our troops from the line they had formed, and, at less hazard, succeed in the accomplishment of their designs. Major Reynolds was accordingly ordered thither, with instructions to place the bayous, emptying through this pass, in the best possible state of defence—to occupy and strengthen the island—to mount sufficient ordnance, and draw a chain, within cannon-shot, across, the more effectually to guard the route, and protect it from approach. Lafite, who had been heretofore promised pardon for the outrages he had committed against the laws of the United States, and who had already shown a lively zeal on behalf of his adopted country, was also dispatched with Reynolds. He was selected, because, from the proofs already given, no doubt was entertained of his fidelity, and because his knowledge of the topography and precise situation of this section of the state was remarkably correct : it was the point where he had constantly rendezvoused, during the time of cruising against the merchant vessels of Spain, under a commission obtained at Carthage, and where he had become perfectly acquainted with every inlet and entrance to the gulf through which a passage could be effected.

136. With these arrangements—treason apart—all anxiously alive to the interest of the country, and disposed to protect it, there was little room to apprehend or fear disaster. To use the general's own expression on another occasion, "the surest defence, and one which seldom failed of success, was a rampart of high-minded and brave men." That there were some of this description with him, on whom he could safely rely in moments of extreme peril, he well knew ; but that there were many strangers to him and danger, and who had never been called to act in those situations where death, stalking in hideous round, appals and unnerves even the most resolute, was equally certain ; whether they would contend with manly firmness, support the cause in which they had embarked, and realize his anxious wishes on the subject, could be only known in the moment of conflict and trial ; when, if disappointed in his expectations, the means of retrieving the evil would be fled, and every thing lost in the result.

137. As yet the enemy were uninformed of the position of Jackson. What was his situation—what was intended—whether offensive or defensive operations would be pursued, were circumstances on which they possessed no correct knowledge, nor could it be obtained; still their exertions were unremitting to have all things prepared, and in readiness to urge their designs whenever the moment for action should arrive. They had been constantly engaged, since their landing, in procuring from their shipping every thing necessary to ulterior operation. A complete command on the lakes, and possession of a point on the margin, presented an uninterrupted ingress and egress, and afforded the opportunity of conveying whatever was wanted in perfect safety to their camp. The height of the Mississippi, and the discharge of water through the openings made in the levee, had given an increased depth to the canal, from which they had first debarked—enabled them to advance their boats much further in the direction of their encampment, and to bring up, with greater convenience, their artillery, bombs, and munitions. Thus engaged, during the first three days after their arrival, early on the morning of the 27th a battery was discovered on the bank of the river, which had been erected during the preceding night, and on which were mounted several pieces of heavy ordnance; from this position a fire was opened on the Caroline schooner, lying under the opposite shore.

138. After the battle of the 23rd, in which this vessel had so effectually aided, she had passed to the opposite side of the river, where she had since lain. Her services were too highly appreciated not to be again desired, should the enemy endeavour to advance. Her present situation was considered truly an unsafe one, but it had been essayed in vain to advance her higher up the stream. No favourable breeze had yet arisen to aid her in stemming the current; and towing, and other remedies, had been already resorted to, but without success. Her safety might have been ensured by floating her down the river and placing her under cover of the guns of the fort, though it was preferred, as a matter of policy, to risk her where she was, still hourly calculating that a favourable wind might relieve her, rather than by dropping her with the current, lose those benefits which, against an advance of the enemy, it might be in her power so completely to extend. Commodore Patterson had left her on the 26th, by the orders of the commanding general, when Captain Henly made a further but ineffectual effort to force her up the current, near to the line, for the double purpose of its defence and for her own safety.

139. These attempts to remove her being discovered, at daylight, on the morning of the 27th, a battery, mounting five guns, opened upon her, discharging bombs and red-hot shot; it was spiritedly answered, but without affecting the battery; there being but a long twelve-pounder that could reach. The second fire had lodged a hot shot in the hold, directly under her cables, whence it could not be removed, and where it immediately communicated fire to the schooner. The shot from the battery were constantly taking effect, firing her in different places, and otherwise producing material injury; while the blaze already kindled under her cables was rapidly extending its ravages. A well-grounded apprehension of her commander, that she could be no longer defended—the flames bursting forth in different parts, and fast increasing, induced a fear lest the magazine should be soon reached, and every thing destroyed. One of his crew being killed, and six wounded, and not a glimmering of hope entertained that she could be preserved, orders were given to abandon her. The crew in safety reached the shore, and in a short time afterwards she blew up.

140. Although thus unexpectedly deprived of so material a dependence for successful defence, an opportunity was soon presented of using her brave crew to advantage. Gathering confidence from what had been just effected, the enemy left their encampment, and moved in the direction of our line. Their numbers had been increased, and Major-General Sir Edward Packenham now commanded in person. Early on the 28th, his columns commenced their advance to storm our works. At the distance of half a mile, their heavy artillery opened, and quantities of bombs, balls, and congreve rockets, were discharged. It was a scene of terror and alarm, which they had probably calculated would excite a panic in the minds of the raw troops of our army, and compel them to surrender at discretion, or abandon their strong hold. But our soldiers had afforded abundant proof, that, whether disciplined or not, they well knew how to defend the honour and interests of their country; and had sufficient valour not to be alarmed at the reality—still less the semblance of danger. Far from exciting their apprehensions, and driving them from their ground, their firmness still remained unchanged; still was manifested a determination not to tarnish a reputation they had hardly earned; and which had become too dear, from the difficulties and dangers they had passed to acquire it, for it now tamely to be surrendered. Their congreve rockets, though a kind of instrument of destruction to which our troops, unskilled in the science of desolating warfare, had been hitherto strangers,

excited no other feeling than that which novelty inspires. At the moment, therefore, that the British, in different columns, were moving up, in all the pomp and parade of battle, preceded by these insignia of terror more than danger, and were expecting to behold their "Yankee foes" tremblingly retire and flee before them, our batteries opened, and halted their advance.

141. In addition to the two pieces of cannon mounted on our works on the 24th, three others, of heavy caliber, obtained from the navy department, had been formed along the line; these opening on the enemy, checked their progress, and disclosed to them the hazard of the project they were on. Lieutenants Crawley and Norris volunteered, and with the crew of the *Caroline* rendered important services, and maintained at the guns they commanded that firmness and decision for which on previous occasions they had been so highly distinguished. They had been selected by the general because of their superior knowledge in gunnery; and on this occasion gave a further evidence of their skill and judgment, and of a disposition to act in any situation where they could be serviceable. The line, which from the labours bestowed on it was daily strengthening was not yet in a situation effectually to resist; this deficiency, however, was well remedied by the brave men who were formed in its rear.

142. From the river the greatest injury was effected. Lieutenant Thompson, who commanded the *Louisiana* sloop, which lay nearly opposite the line of defence, no sooner discovered the columns approaching, than warping her around, he brought her starboard guns to bear, and produced such an effect as forced them to retreat: but, from their heavy artillery, the enemy maintained the conflict with great spirit, constantly discharging their bombs and rockets for seven hours, when, unable to make a breach, or silence the fire from the sloop, they abandoned a contest where few advantages seemed to be presented. The crew of this vessel was composed of new recruits, and of discordant materials,—of soldiers, citizens, and seamen; yet, by the activity of their commander, they were so well perfected in their duty, that they already managed their guns with the greatest precision and certainty of effect; and, by three o'clock in the evening, with the aid of the land batteries, had completely silenced and driven back the enemy. Emboldened by the effect produced the day before on the *Caroline*, the furnaces of the enemy were put in operation, and numbers of hot shot thrown from a heavy piece which was placed behind and protected by the levee. An attempt was now made to carry it off, when that

protection heretofore had being taken away, those in the direction of it were fairly exposed to our fire, and suffered greatly. In their endeavours to remove it, "I saw," says Commodore Patterson, "distinctly, with the aid of a glass, several balls strike in the midst of the men who were employed in dragging it away." In this engagement, commenced and waged for seven hours, we received little or no injury. The Louisiana sloop, against which the most violent exertions were made, had but a single man wounded, by the fragments of a shell which bursted over her deck. Our entire loss did not exceed nine killed, and eight or ten wounded. The enemy, being more exposed, acting in the open field, and in range of our guns, suffered, from information afterwards procured, considerable injury; at least one hundred and twenty were killed and wounded.

143. Among the killed, on our side, was Colonel James Henderson, of the Tennessee militia. An advance party of the British had, during the action, taken post behind a fence that ran obliquely to, and not very remote from, our line. Henderson, with a detachment of two hundred men, was sent out by General Carroll to drive them from a position whence they were effecting some injury, and greatly annoying our troops. Had he advanced in the manner directed, he would have been less exposed, and enabled more effectually to have secured the object intended; but, misunderstanding the order, he proceeded in a different route, and fell a victim to his error. Instead of marching in the direction of the wood, and turning the enemy, which might have cut off their retreat, he proceeded in front, towards the river, leaving them in rear of the fence, and himself and his detachment open and exposed. His mistake being perceived from the line, he was called by the adjutant-general, and directed to return; but the noise of the waters, through which they were wading, prevented any communication. Having reached a knoll of dry ground, he formed, and attempted the execution of his order; but soon fell, by a wound in the head. Deprived of their commander, and perceiving their situation hazardous and untenable, the detachment retreated to the line, with the loss of their colonel and five men.

144. While this advance was made, a column of the enemy was threatening an attack on our extreme left; to frustrate the attempt, Coffee was ordered with his riflemen to hasten through the woods, and check their approach. The enemy, although greatly superior to him in numbers, no sooner discovered his movement than they retired, and abandoned the attack they had previously meditated.



145. A supposed disaffection in New Orleans, and an enemy in front, were circumstances well calculated to excite unpleasant forebodings. General Jackson believed it necessary and essential to his security, while contending with avowed foes, not to be wholly inattentive to dangers lurking at home; but, by guarding vigilantly, to be able to suppress any treasonable purpose, the moment it should be developed, and before it should have time to mature. Previously, therefore, to departing from the city, on the evening of the 23rd, he had ordered Major Butler, his aid, to remain with the guards, and be vigilant that nothing transpired in his absence calculated to operate injuriously. His fears that there were many of the inhabitants who felt no attachment to the government, and would not scruple to surrender, whenever, prompted by their interest, it should become necessary, has been already noticed. In this belief, subsequent circumstances evinced there was no mistake, and showed that to his assiduity and energy is to be ascribed that the country was protected and saved. It is a fact, which was disclosed on making an exchange of prisoners, that, despite of all the efforts made to prevent it, the enemy were daily and constantly apprized of every thing that transpired in our camp. Every arrangement, and every change of position, was immediately communicated. On the day subsequent to a contest on the lakes, on the 14th December, Mr. Shields, purser in the navy, had been dispatched with a flag, to Cat island, accompanied by Dr. Murrell, for the purpose of alleviating the situation of our wounded, and to effect a negotiation, by which they should be liberated on parole. We are not aware that such an application militated against the usages and customs of war: if not, the flag of truce should have been respected; nor ought its bearer to have been detained as a prisoner. Admiral Cochrane's pretended fear that it was a wile, designed to ascertain his strength and situation, is far from presenting any sufficient excuse for so wanton an outrage on propriety and the rules of war. If this were apprehended, could not the messengers have been met at a distance from the fleet, and ordered back without a near approach? Had this been done, no information could have been gained, and the object designed to be secured by the detention would have been answered, without infringing that amicable intercourse between contending armies, which, when violated or disregarded, opens a door to brutal and savage warfare. Finding they did not return, the cause of it was at once correctly divined.

146. The British admiral was very solicitous, and resorted to

various means to obtain from these gentlemen information of the strength and condition and disposition of our army; but so cautious a reserve was maintained, that from them nothing could be elicited. Shields was perceived to be quite deaf, and calculating on some advantage to be derived from this circumstance, he and the doctor were placed at night in the green room, where any conversation which occurred between them could readily be heard. Suspecting, perhaps, something of the kind, after having retired, and every thing was seemingly still, they began to speak of their situation—the circumstance of their being detained, and of the prudent caution with which they had guarded themselves against communicating any information to the British admiral. But, continued Shields, how greatly these gentlemen will be disappointed in their expectations, for Jackson with the twenty thousand troops he now has, and the reinforcements from Kentucky, which must speedily reach him, will be able to destroy any force that can be landed from these ships. Every word was heard, and treasured, and not supposing there was any design, or that he presumed himself overheard, they were beguiled by it, and at once concluded our force to be as great as it was represented; and hence no doubt arose the reason of that prudent care and caution with which the enemy afterwards proceeded; for “nothing,” remarked a British officer, at the close of the invasion, “was kept a secret from us, except your numbers: this, although diligently sought after, could never be procured.”

147. Between the 23rd, and the attack on the 28th, to carry our line, Major Butler, who still remained at his post in the city, was applied to by Fulwar Skipwith, at that time speaker of the senate, to ascertain the commanding general's views, provided he should be driven from his line of encampment, and compelled to retreat through the city; would he in that event destroy it? It was, indeed, a curious inquiry from one who, having spent his life in serving his country in different capacities, might better have understood the duty of a subordinate officer; and that even if, from his situation, Major Butler had so far acquired the confidence of his general as to have become acquainted with his views and designs, he was not at liberty to divulge them, without destroying confidence and acting criminally. On asking the cause of the inquiry, Mr. Skipwith replied, it was rumoured, and so understood, that if driven from his position, and made to retreat upon the city, General Jackson had it in contemplation to lay it in ruins; the legislature, he said, desired information on this subject, that if such were his

intentions, they might, by offering terms of capitulation to the enemy, avert so serious a calamity. That a sentiment having for its object a surrender of the city should be entertained by this body was scarcely credible; yet a few days brought the certainty of it more fully to view, and showed that they were already devising plans to ensure the safety of themselves and property, even at any sacrifice. While the general was hastening along the line, from ordering Coffee, as we have just observed, against a column of the British on the extreme left, he was hailed by Mr. Duncan, one of his volunteer aids, and informed, that already it was agitated, secretly, by the members of the legislature, to offer terms of capitulation to the enemy, and proffer a surrender; and that Governor Claiborne awaited his orders on the subject. Poised as was the result, the safety or fall of the city resting in uncertainty, although it was plainly to be perceived, that, with a strong army before them, no such resolution could be carried into effect, yet it might be productive of evil, and in the end bring about the most fatal consequences. Even the disclosure of such a wish on the part of the legislature might create parties—excite opposition in the army, and inspire the enemy with renewed confidence. The Tennessee forces, and Mississippi volunteers, it was not feared would be affected by the measure; but it might detach the Louisiana militia, and even extend itself to the ranks of the regular troops. Jackson was greatly incensed, that those whose safety he had so much at heart, should be seeking, under the authority of office, to mar his best exertions. He was, however, too warmly pressed at the moment, for the battle was raging, to give it the attention its importance merited; but, availing himself of the first respite from the violence of the attack waged against him, he apprized Governor Claiborne of what he had heard;—ordered him closely to watch the conduct of the legislature, and the moment a project of offering a capitulation to the enemy should be fully disclosed, to place a guard at the door and confine them to their chamber. The governor, in his zeal to execute the command, and from a fear of the consequences involved in such conduct, construed as imperative an order which was merely contingent; and placing an armed force at the door of the capitol, prevented the members from convening, and their schemes from maturing.

148. The purport of this order was essentially misconceived by the governor; or, perhaps, with a view to avoid subsequent inconveniences and complaints, was designedly mistaken. Jackson's object was not to restrain the legislature in the discharge

of their official duties ; for although he thought, that such a moment, when the sound of the cannon was constantly pealing in their ears, was inauspicious to wholesome legislation, and that it would have better comported with the state of the times for them to abandon their civil duties and appear in the field, yet was it a matter indelicate to be proposed : and it was hence preferred, that they should adopt whatever course might be suggested by their own notions of propriety. This sentiment would have been still adhered to ; but when through the communication of Mr. Duncan they were represented as entertaining opinions and schemes adverse to the general interest and safety of the country, the necessity of a new and different course of conduct was at once obvious. But he did not order Governor Claiborne to interfere with or prevent them from proceeding with their duties ; on the contrary, he was instructed, so soon as any thing hostile to the general cause should be ascertained, to place a guard at the door, and keep the members to their post and to their duty. My object in this, remarked the general, was, that then they would be able to proceed with their business without producing the slightest injury : whatever schemes they might entertain would have remained with themselves, without the power of circulating them to the prejudice of any other interest than their own. I had intended to have had them well treated and kindly dealt by ; and thus abstracted from every thing passing without doors, a better opportunity would have been afforded them to enact good and wholesome laws ; but Governor Claiborne mistook my order, and instead of shutting them in doors, contrary to my wishes and expectation, turned them out.

149. Before this he had been called on by a special committee of the legislature to know what his course would be should necessity compel him from his position. If, replied the general, I thought the hair of my head could divine what I should do forthwith, I would cut it off : go back with this answer ; say to your honourable body, that if disaster does overtake me, and the fate of war drives me from my line to the city, they may expect to have a very warm session. And what did you design to do, I inquired, provided you had been forced to retreat ? I should, he replied, have retreated to the city, fired it, and fought the enemy amidst the surrounding flames. There were with me men of wealth, owners of considerable property, who, in such an event, would have been amongst the foremost to have applied the torch to their own buildings ; and what they had left undone I should have completed. Nothing for the comfortable maintenance of

the enemy would have been left in the rear. I would have destroyed New Orleans—occupied a position above on the river—cut off all supplies, and in this way compelled them to depart from the country.

150. We shall not pretend to ascribe this conduct of the legislature to disaffection, or to treasonable motives. The impulse that produced it was, no doubt, interest—a principle of the human mind which strongly sways, and often destroys its best conclusions. The disparity of the two armies, in numbers, preparation, and discipline, had excited apprehension and destroyed hope. If Jackson were driven back, and little else was looked for, rumour fixed his determination of devoting the city to destruction : but even if such were not his intention, the wrath and vengeance of the enemy might be fairly calculated to be in proportion to the opposition they should receive. Although these considerations may somewhat palliate, they do not justify. The government was represented in the person of the commanding general, on whom rested all responsibility, and whose voice on the subject of resistance or capitulation should alone have been heard. In the field were persons who were enduring hardships and straining every nerve for the general safety. A few of the members of their own body, too, were there, who did not despond. Might not patriotism, then, have admonished these men, honoured as they were with the confidence of the people rather to have pursued a course having for its object to keep alive excitement, than to have endeavoured to introduce fear, and paralyze exertion ? Such conduct, if productive of nothing worse, was well calculated to excite alarm. If the militia, who had been hastily drawn to the camp, and who were yet trembling for the safety of their families, had been told that a few private men, of standing in society, had expressed their opinions, and declared resistance useless, it would, without doubt, have occasioned serious apprehensions ; but, in a much greater degree would they be calculated to arise, when told that the members of the legislature, chosen to preside over the safety and destinies of the state, after due deliberation, had pronounced all attempts at successful opposition, vain and ineffectual.

151. Here was an additional reason why expedients should be devised, and every precaution adopted, to prevent any communication by which the slightest intelligence should be had of our situation, already indeed sufficiently deplorable. Additional guards were posted along the swamp, on both sides of the Mississippi, to arrest all intercourse ; while on the river, the

common highway, watch boats were constantly plying during the night, in different directions, so that a log could scarcely float down the stream unperceived. Two flat-bottomed boats, on a dark night, were turned adrift above, to ascertain if vigilance were preserved, and whether there would be any possibility of escaping the guards and passing in safety to the British lines. The light boats discovered them on their passage, and on the alarm being given, they were opened upon by the Louisiana sloop, and the batteries on the shore, and in a few minutes were sunk. In spite, however, of every precaution, treason still discovered avenues through which to project and execute her nefarious plans, and through them was constantly afforded information to the enemy; carried to them, no doubt, by adventurous friends, who sought and effected their nightly passage through the deepest parts of the swamp, where it was impossible for sentinels to be stationed.\*

152. Great inconvenience was sustained for the want of arms, and much anxiety felt, lest the enemy, through their faithful adherents, might, on this subject also obtain information; to prevent it as far as possible, General Jackson endeavoured to conceal the strength and situation of his army, by suffering his reports to be seen by none but himself and the adjutant-general. Many of the troops in the field were supplied with common guns, which were of little service. The Kentucky troops, daily expected, were also understood to be badly provided with arms. Uncertain but that the city might yet contain many articles that would be serviceable, orders were issued to the mayor of New

\* *Letter from Charles K. Blanchard to General Jackson.*

*New Orleans, March 20, 1814.*

SIR—I have the honour, agreeably to your request, to state to your Excellency, in writing, the substance of a conversation that occurred between Quarter-master Peddie, of the British army, and myself, on the 11th instant, on board his Britannic Majesty's ship *Herald*. Quarter-master Peddie observed, that the commanding officers of the British forces were daily in the receipt of every information from the city of New Orleans, which they might require, in aid of their operations, for the completion of the objects of the expedition;—that they were perfectly acquainted with the situation of every part of our forces, the manner in which the same was situated, the number of our fortifications, their strength, position, &c. As to the battery on the left bank of the Mississippi, he described its situation, its distance from the main post, and promptly offered me a plan of the works. He furthermore stated, that the above information was received from seven or eight persons, in the city of New Orleans, from whom he could at any hour procure every information necessary to promote his Majesty's interest.

Orleans, directing him diligently to inquire through every store and house, and take possession of all the muskets, bayonets, spades, and axes, he could find. Understanding too there were many young men who from different pretexts had not appeared in the field, he was instructed to obtain a register of every man in the city under the age of fifty, that measures might be concerted for drawing forth those who had hitherto appeared backward in engaging in the pending contest.

153. Frequent light skirmishes, by advanced parties, without material effect on either side, were the only incidents that took place for several days. Colonel Hinds, at the head of the Mississippi dragoons, on the 30th December, was ordered to dislodge a party of the enemy, who, under cover of a ditch that ran across the plain, were annoying our fatigue parties. In his advance he was unexpectedly thrown into an ambuscade, and became exposed to the fire of a line, which had hitherto lain concealed and unobserved. His collected conduct and gallant deportment gained him and his corps the approbation of the commanding general, and extricated him from the danger in which he was placed. The enemy, forced from their position, retired, and he returned to the line, with the loss of five of his men.

154. The British were encamped two miles below the American army, on a perfect plain, and in full view. Although foiled in their attempt to carry our works by the force of their batteries on the 28th, they yet resolved upon another attack, and one which they believed would be more successful. Presuming their failure to have arisen from not having sufficiently strong batteries and heavy ordnance, a more enlarged arrangement was resorted to, with a confidence of silencing opposition, and effecting such breaches in our entrenchment as would enable their columns to pass, without being exposed to any considerable hazard. The interim between the 28th of December and 1st January was accordingly spent in preparing to execute their designs. Their boats had been dispatched to the shipping, and an additional supply of heavy cannon landed through Bayou Bienvenu, whence they had first debarked.

155. During the night of the 31st December they were busily engaged. An impenetrable fog next morning, which was not dispelled until nine o'clock, by concealing their purpose, aided them in the plans they were projecting, and gave time for the completion of their works. This having disappeared, several heavy batteries, at the distance of six hundred yards, mounting eighteen and twenty-four pound cannonades,

were presented to view. No sooner was it sufficiently clear to distinguish objects at a distance, than these were opened, and a tremendous burst of artillery commenced, accompanied with congreve rockets, that filled the air in all directions. Our troops, protected by a defence, which from their constant labours and exertions they believed to be impregnable, unmoved and undisturbed, maintained their ground, and by their skilful management in the end, succeeded in dismounting and silencing the guns of the enemy. The British, through the friendly interference of some disaffected citizens, having been apprized of the situation of the general's quarters, that he dwelt in a house at a small distance in the rear of his line of defence, against it directed their first and principal efforts, with a view to destroy the commander. So great was the number of balls thrown, that in a little while its porticos were beaten down, and the building made a complete wreck. In this dishonourable design they were however disappointed ; for with Jackson it was a constant practice, on the first appearance of danger, not to wait in his quarters watching events, but instantly to proceed to the line, and be ready, to form his arrangements as circumstances might require. Constantly in expectation of a charge, he was never absent from the post of danger ; and thither he had this morning repaired, at the first sound of the cannon, to aid in defence, and inspire his troops with firmness. Our guns along the line now opened to repel the assault, and a constant roar of cannon, on both sides, continued until nearly noon ; when, by the superior skill of our engineers, the two batteries formed on the right, next the woods, were nearly beaten down, and many of the guns dismounted, broken, and rendered useless. That next the river still continued its fire until three o'clock ; when perceiving all attempts to force a breach ineffectual, the enemy gave up the contest and retired. Every act of theirs discovers a strange delusion, and unfolds on what wild and fanciful grounds all their expectations were founded. That the American troops were well posted, and strongly defended by pieces of heavy ordnance mounted along their line, was a fact well known ; yet a belief was confidently indulged that the undisciplined collection which constituted the strength of our army, would be able to derive little benefit from such a circumstance ; and that artillery could produce but slight advantages in the hands of persons who were strangers to the manner of using it. That many who, from necessity, were called to the direction of the guns, were at first entirely unacquainted with their management, is indeed true ; yet the accuracy and precision with which they



threw their shot, afforded a convincing argument either that they possessed the capacity of becoming in a short time well acquainted with the art of gunnery, or that it was a science the acquiring of which was not attended with incalculable difficulties.

156. That they would be able to effect an opening and march through the strong defence in their front, was an idea so fondly cherished by our assailants, that an apprehension of failure had scarcely ever occurred. So sanguine were they in this belief, that early in the morning their soldiers were arranged along the ditches, in rear of their batteries, prepared and ready to advance to the charge the moment a breach could be made. Here, by their situation, protected from danger, they remained, waiting the result that should call them to act. But their efforts not having produced the slightest impression, nor their rockets the effect of driving our militia away, they abandoned the contest, and retired to their camp, leaving their batteries materially injured—nay, well nigh destroyed.

157. Perceiving their attempts must fail, and that such an effect could not be produced as would warrant their advance, another expedient was resorted to, but with no better success. It occurred to the British commander that an attack might be made to advantage next the woods, and a force was accordingly ordered to penetrate in this direction, and turn the left of our line, which was supposed not to extend further than to the margin of the swamp. In this way, it was expected a diversion could be made, while the reserve columns, being in readiness, and waiting, were to press forward the moment this object could be effected. Here, too, disappointment resulted. Coffee's brigade, being already extended into the swamp, as far as it was possible for an advancing party to penetrate, brought unexpected dangers into view, and occasioned an abandonment of the project. That to turn the extreme left of the line was practicable, and might be attempted, was the subject of early consideration; and necessary precaution had been taken to prevent it. Although cutting the levee had raised the waters in the swamp, and increased the difficulties of keeping troops there, yet a fear lest this pass might be sought by the enemy, and the rear of the line thereby gained, had determined the general to extend his defence even here. This had been entrusted to General Coffee; and surely a more arduous duty can scarcely be imagined. To form a breast-work in such a place was attended with many difficulties, and considerable exposure. A slight defence, however, had been thrown up, and the under-wood, for thirty or forty yards in front, cut down, that the

riflemen stationed for its protection might have a complete view of any force which through this route might attempt a passage. When it is recollected that this position was to be maintained night and day, uncertain of the moment of attack, and that the only opportunity afforded our troops for rest was on logs and brush thrown together, by which they were raised above the surrounding water, it may be truly said, that seldom has it fallen to the lot of any to encounter greater hardships: but accustomed to privation, and alive to those feelings which a love of country inspires, they obeyed without complaining, and cheerfully kept their position until all danger had subsided. Sensible of the importance of the point they defended, and that it was necessary to be maintained, be the sacrifice what it might, they looked to nothing but a zealous and faithful discharge of the trust confided to them.

158. Our loss in this affair was eleven killed, and twenty-three wounded: that of the enemy was never correctly known. The only certain information is contained in a communication of the 28th January, from General Lambert to Earl Bathurst, in which the casualties and losses, from the 1st to the 5th, are stated at seventy-eight. Many allowances, however, are to be made for this report. It was written at a time when, from the numerous disasters encountered, it was not to be presumed the general's mind was in a situation patiently to remember or minutely to detail the facts. From the great precision of our fire, and the injury visibly sustained by their batteries, their loss was no doubt considerable. The enemy's heavy shot having penetrated our entrenchment in many places, it was discovered not to be as strong as had at first been imagined. Fatigue parties were again employed, and its strength daily increased: an additional number of bales of cotton were taken to be applied to strengthening and defending the embrasures along the line. A Frenchman, whose property had been thus, without his consent, seized, fearful of the injury it might sustain, proceeded in person to General Jackson to reclaim it, and to demand its delivery. The general having heard his complaint, and ascertained from him that he was unemployed in any military service, directed a musket to be brought to him, and placing it in his hand, ordered him on the line, remarking at the same time, that as he seemed to be a man possessed of property, he knew of none who had a better right to fight and to defend it.

159. The British had again retired to their encampment. It was well understood by Jackson that they were in daily expectation of considerable reinforcements; though he rested with

confidence in the belief that a few more days would also bring to his assistance the troops from Kentucky. Each party, therefore, was busily and constantly engaged in preparation, the one to wage a vigorous attack, the other bravely to defend, and resolutely to oppose it.

160. The position of the American army was in the rear of an entrenchment formed of earth, and which extended in a straight line from the river to a considerable distance in the swamp. In front was a deep ditch, which had been formerly used as a mill-race. The Mississippi had receded and left this dry next the river, though in many places the water still remained. Along the line, and at unequal distances, to the centre of General Carroll's command, were guns mounted, of different caliber, from six to thirty-two pounders. Near the river, and in advance of the entrenchment, was erected a redoubt, with embrasures, commanding the road along the levee, and calculated to rake the ditch in front.

161. We have heretofore stated, that General Morgan was ordered on the 24th of December to cross to the west bank of the Mississippi. From an apprehension entertained that an attempt might be made through Barrataria, and the city reached from the right bank of the river, the general had extended his defence there likewise: in fact, unacquainted with the enemy's views,—not knowing the number of their troops, nor but that they might have sufficient strength to wage an attack in various directions, and anxiously solicitous to be prepared at all points, he had carefully divided out his forces, that he might guard and be able to protect, in whatever direction an assault should be waged. His greatest fears, and hence his strongest defence next to the one occupied by himself, was on the Chef Menteur road, where Governor Claiborne, at the head of the Louisiana militia, was posted. The position on the right was formed on the same plan with the line on the left,—lower down than that on the left, and extending to the swamp at right angles to the river. Here General Morgan commanded.

162. To be prepared against every possible contingency that might arise, Jackson had established another line of defence, about two miles in the rear of the one at present occupied, which was intended as a rallying point if he should be driven from his first position. With the aid of his cavalry, to give a momentary check to the advance of the enemy, he expected to be enabled, with inconsiderable injury, to reach it; where he would again have advantages on his side, be in a situation to dispute a further passage to the city, and arrest their progress. To inspirit his own soldiers, and to exhibit to the enemy as great a

show as possible of strength and intended resistance, his unarmed troops, which constituted no very inconsiderable number, were here stationed. All intercourse between the lines, except by confidential officers, was prohibited, and every precaution and vigilance employed, not only to keep this want of preparation concealed from the enemy, but even from being known on his own lines.

163. Occasional firing at a distance, which produced nothing of consequence, was all that marked the interim from the 1st to the 8th of January.

164. On the 4th of this month, the long-expected reinforcement from Kentucky, amounting to twenty-two hundred and fifty, under the command of Major-General Thomas, arrived at head quarters; but so ill provided with arms as to be incapable of rendering any considerable service. The alacrity with which the citizens of this state had proceeded to the frontiers, and aided in the north-western campaigns, added to the disasters which ill-timed policy or misfortune had produced, had created such a drain, that arms were not to be procured. They had advanced, however, to their point of destination, with an expectation of being supplied on their arrival. About five hundred of them had muskets; the rest were provided with guns, from which little or no advantage could be expected. The mayor of New Orleans, at the request of General Jackson, had already examined and drawn from the city every weapon that could be found; while the arrival of the Louisiana militia, in an equally unprepared situation, rendered it impossible for the evil to be effectually remedied. A boat laden with arms was somewhere on the river, intended for the use and defence of the lower country; but where it was, or when it might arrive, rested alone on hope and conjecture. Expresses had been dispatched up the river, for three hundred miles, to seek and hasten it on; still there were no tidings of an approach. That so many brave men, at a moment of such anxious peril, should be compelled to stand with folded arms, unable, from their situation, to render the least possible service to their country, was an event greatly to be deplored, and did not fail to excite the feelings and sensibility of the commanding general. His mind active, and prepared for any thing but despondency, sought relief in vain;—there was none. No alternative was presented but to place them at his entrenchment in the rear, conceal their actual condition, and by the show they might make, add to his appearance and numbers, without at all increasing his strength.

165. Information was now received that Major-General Lambert had joined the British commander-in-chief with a

considerable reinforcement. It had been heretofore announced in the American camp that additional forces were expected, and something decisive might be looked for as soon as they should arrive. This circumstance, in connexion with others no less favouring the idea, had led to the conclusion that a few days more would, in all probability, bring on the struggle which would decide the fate of the city. It was more than ever necessary to keep concealed the situation of his army; and, above all, to preserve as secret as possible its unarmed condition. To restrict all communication, even with his own lines, was now, as danger increased, rendered more important. None were permitted to leave the line, and none from without to pass into his camp, but such as were to be implicitly confided in. The line of sentinels were strengthened in front, that none might pass to the enemy, should desertion be attempted: yet notwithstanding this precaution and care, his plans and situation were disclosed. On the night of the 6th January a soldier from the line, by some means, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of our sentinels. Early next morning his departure was discovered: it was at once correctly conjectured he had gone over to the enemy, and would, no doubt, afford them all the information in his power to communicate. This opinion, as subsequent circumstances disclosed, was well founded; and dearly did he atone his crime. He unfolded to the British the situation of the American line, the late reinforcements we had received, and the unarmed condition of many of the troops; and, pointing to the centre of General Carroll's division, as a place occupied by militia alone, recommended it as the point where an attack might be most prudently and safely made.

166. Other intelligence received was confirmatory of the belief of an impending attack. From some prisoners, taken on the lake, it was ascertained the enemy were busily engaged in deepening Villery's canal, with a view of passing their boats and ordnance to the Mississippi. During the 7th a constant bustle was perceived in the British camp. Along the borders of the canal their soldiers were continually in motion, marching and manœuvring, for no other purpose than to conceal those who were busily engaged at work in the rear. To ascertain the cause of this uncommon stir, and learn their designs as far as was practicable, Commodore Patterson had proceeded down the river, on the opposite side, and having gained a favourable position in front of their encampment, discovered them to be actually engaged in deepening the passage to the river. It was no difficult matter to divine their purpose. No other conjecture could be entertained, than that an assault was intended to

be made on the line of defence commanded by General Morgan ; which, if gained, would expose our troops on the left bank to the fire of the redoubt erected on the right ; and in this way compel them to an abandonment of their position. To counteract this scheme was important ; and measures were immediately taken to prevent the execution of a plan, which, if successful, would be attended with incalculable dangers. An increased strength was given to this line. The second regiment of Louisiana militia, and four hundred Kentucky troops, were directed to be crossed over, to reinforce and protect it. Owing to some delay and difficulty in arming them, the latter amounting, instead of four hundred, to but one hundred and eighty, did not arrive until the morning of the 8th. A little before day, they were dispatched to aid an advanced party, who, under the command of Major Arnaut, had been sent to watch the movements of the enemy, and oppose their landing. The hopes indulged from their opposition were not realized ; and the enemy, unmolested, reached the shore.

167. Morgan's position, besides being strengthened by several brass twelves, was defended by a strong battery, mounting twenty-four pounders, directed by Commodore Patterson, which afforded additional strength and security. The line itself was not strong ; yet if properly maintained by the troops selected to defend it, was believed fully adequate to the purposes of successful resistance. Late at night Patterson ascertained that the enemy had succeeded in passing their boats through the canal, and immediately communicated his information to the general. The commodore had already formed the idea of dropping the Louisiana schooner down, to attack and sink them. This thought, though well conceived, was abandoned, from the danger involved, and from an apprehension lest the batteries erected on the river, with which she would come in collision, might, by the aid of hot shot, succeed in blowing her up. It was preferred patiently to await their arrival, believing it would be practicable, with the bravery of more than fifteen hundred men, and the slender advantages possessed from their line of defence, to maintain their position, and repel the assailants.

168. On the left bank, where the general in person commanded, every thing was in readiness to meet the assault when it should be made. The redoubt on the levee was defended by a company of the seventh regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Ross. The regular troops occupied that part of the entrenchment next the river. General Carroll's division was in the centre, supported by the Kentucky troops, under General

John Adair ; while the extreme left, extending for a considerable distance into the swamp, was protected by the brigade of General Coffee. How soon the attack should be waged was uncertain ; at what moment rested with the enemy,—with us, to be in readiness for resistance. There were many circumstances, however, favouring the belief that the hour of contest was not far distant, and indeed fast approaching ; the bustle of to-day,—the efforts to carry their boats into the river,—the fascines and scaling-ladders that were preparing, were circumstances pointing to attack, and indicating the hour to be near at hand. General Jackson, unmoved by appearances, anxiously desired a contest, which he believed would give a triumph to his arms, and terminate the hardships of his suffering soldiers. Unremitting in exertion, and constantly vigilant, his precaution kept pace with the zeal and preparation of the enemy. He seldom slept : he was always at his post, performing the duties of both general and soldier. His sentinels were doubled, and extended as far as possible in the direction of the British camp ; while a considerable portion of the troops were constantly at the line, with arms in their hands, ready to act, when the first alarm should be given.

169. For eight days had the two armies lain upon the same field, and in view of each other, without any thing decisive being on either side effected. Twice since their landing had the British columns essayed to effect by storm the execution of their plans, and twice had failed—been compelled to relinquish the attempt, and retire from the contest. It was not to be expected that things could long remain in this dubious state. Soldiers, the pride of England,—the boasted conquerors of Europe, were there ; distinguished generals their leaders, who earnestly desired to announce to their country and the world their signal achievements. The high expectations which had been indulged of the success of this expedition were to be realized at every peril, or disgrace would follow the failure.

170. The 8th of January at length arrived. The day dawned ; and the signals intended to produce concert in the enemy's movements were descried. On the left, near the swamp, a skyrocket was perceived rising in the air ; and presently another ascended from the right, next the river. They were intended to announce that all was prepared and ready, to proceed and carry by storm a defence which had twice foiled their utmost efforts. Instantly the charge was made, and with such rapidity, that our soldiers at the out-posts with difficulty fled in.

117. The British batteries, which had been demolished on

the 1st of the month, had been re-established during the preceding night, and heavy pieces of cannon mounted, to aid in their intended operations. These now opened, and showers of bombs and balls were poured upon our line; while the air was lighted with their congrève rockets. The two divisions, commanded by Sir Edward Packenham in person, and supported by Generals Keane and Gibbs, pressed forward; the right against the centre of General Carroll's command, the left against our redoubt on the levee. A thick fog that obscured the morning enabled them to approach within a short distance of our entrenchment before they were discovered. They were now perceived advancing with firm, quick, and steady pace, in column, with a front of sixty or seventy deep. Our troops, who had for some time been in readiness, and waiting their appearance, gave three cheers, and instantly the whole line was lighted with the blaze of their fire. A burst of artillery and small arms, pouring with destructive aim upon them, mowed down their front, and arrested their advance. In our musketry there was not a moment's intermission: as one party discharged their pieces, another succeeded; alternately loading and appearing, no pause could be perceived—it was one continued volley. The columns already perceived their dangerous and exposed situation. Battery No. 7, on the left, was ably served by Lieutenant Spotts, and galled them with an incessant and destructive fire. Batteries No. 6 and 8 were no less actively employed, and no less successful in felling them to the ground. Notwithstanding the severity of our fire, which few troops could for a moment have withstood, some of those brave men pressed on, and succeeded in gaining the ditch in front of our works, where they remained during the action, and were afterwards made prisoners. The horror before them was too great to be withstood; and already were the British troops seen wavering in their determination, and receding from the conflict. At this moment, Sir Edward Packenham, hastening to the front, endeavoured to encourage and inspire them with renewed zeal. His example was of short continuance: he soon fell mortally wounded in the arms of his aid-de-camp, not far from our line. Generals Gibbs and Keane also fell, and were borne from the field dangerously wounded. At this moment, General Lambert, who was advancing at a small distance in the rear, with the reserve, met the columns precipitately retreating, and in great confusion. His efforts to stop them were unavailing, they continued retreating, until they reached a ditch, at the distance of four hundred yards, where a momentary safety being found, they were rallied and halted.



172. The field before them, over which they had advanced, was strewn with the dead and dying. Danger hovered still around; yet urged and encouraged by their officers, who feared their own disgrace involved in the failure, they again moved to the charge. They were already near enough to deploy, and were endeavouring to do so; but the same constant and unrelenting resistance that caused their first retreat, continued yet unabated. Our batteries had never ceased their fire; their constant discharges of grape and canister, and the fatal aim of our musketry, mowed down the front of the columns as fast as they could be formed. Satisfied nothing could be done, and that certain destruction awaited all further attempts, they forsook the contest and the field in disorder, leaving it almost entirely covered with the dead and wounded. It was in vain their officers endeavoured to animate them to further resistance, and equally vain to attempt coercion. The panic produced from the dreadful repulse they had experienced, the plain on which they had acted being covered with innumerable bodies of their countrymen, while with their most zealous exertions they had been unable to obtain the slightest advantage, were circumstances well calculated to make even the most submissive soldier oppose the authority that would have controlled him.

173. The light companies of fusiliers, the forty-third and ninety-third regiments, and one hundred men from the West India regiment, led on by Colonel Rennie, were ordered to proceed under cover of some chimneys standing in the field, until having cleared them, to oblique to the river and advance protected by the levee against our redoubt on the right. This work, having been but lately commenced, was in an unfinished state. It was not until the 4th that General Jackson, much against his own opinion, had yielded to the suggestions of others, and permitted its projection; and considering the plan on which it had been sketched, had not yet received that strength necessary to its safe defence. The detachment ordered against this place, formed the left of General Keane's command. Rennie executed his orders with great bravery, and urging forward arrived at the ditch. His advance was greatly annoyed by Commodore Patterson's battery on the left bank, and the cannon mounted on the redoubt; but reaching our works and passing the ditch, Rennie, sword in hand, leaped on the wall, and calling to his troops, bade them follow; he had scarcely spoken, when he fell by the fatal aim of our riflemen. Pressed by the impetuosity of superior numbers who were mounting the wall and entering at the embrasures, our troops had retired to the line,

in rear of the redoubt. A momentary pause ensued, but only to be interrupted with increased horrors. Captain Beal, with the city riflemen, cool and self-possessed, perceiving the enemy in his front, opened upon them, and at every discharge brought the object to the ground. To advance, or maintain the point gained, was equally impracticable for the enemy: to retreat or surrender was the only alternative: for they already perceived the division on the right thrown into confusion, and hastily leaving the field.

174. General Jackson being informed of the success of the enemy on the right, and of their being in possession of the redoubt, pressed forward a reinforcement to regain it. Previously to its arrival they had abandoned the attempt, and were retiring. They were severely galled by such of our guns as could be brought to bear. The levee afforded them considerable protection; yet by Commodore Patterson's redoubt on the right bank they suffered greatly. Enfiladed by this on their advance, they had been greatly annoyed, and now in their retreat were no less severely assailed. Numbers found a grave in the ditch before our line; and of those who gained the redoubt, not one it is believed escaped; they were shot down as fast as they entered. The route, along which they had advanced and retired, was strewn with bodies. Affrighted at the carnage, they moved from the scene hastily and in confusion. Our batteries were still continuing the slaughter, and cutting them down at every step: safety seemed only to be attainable when they should have retired without the range of our shot; which, to troops galled as severely as they were, was too remote a relief. Pressed by this consideration they fled to the ditch, whither the right division had retreated, and there remained until night permitted them to retire.

175. The loss of the British in the main attack on the left bank has been at different times variously stated. The killed, wounded, and prisoners, ascertained on the next day after the battle by Colonel Hayne, the inspector-general, places it at twenty-six hundred. General Lambert's report to Lord Bathurst makes it but two thousand and seventy. From prisoners, however, and information and circumstances derived through other sources, it must have been even greater than is stated by either. Among them was the commander-in-chief, and Major-General Gibbs, who died of his wounds the next day, besides many of their most valuable and distinguished officers; while the loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was but thirteen. Our effective force at the line on the left bank was three

thousand seven hundred; that of the enemy at least nine thousand. The force landed in Louisiana has been variously reported; the best information places it at about fourteen thousand. A part of this acted with Colonel Thornton; the climate had rendered many unfit for the duties of the field; while a considerable number had been killed and wounded in the different contests since their arrival. Their strength, therefore, may be fairly estimated, on the 8th, at the number we have stated; at any rate not less.

176. That this was considered an undertaking of greater magnitude and hazard than they were disposed openly to admit, is obvious, from one circumstance. The officer who leads his troops on a forlorn attempt, not unfrequently places before them allurements stronger than either authority or duty. On the present occasion, this resort was not omitted; and inducements were held out, than which nothing more inviting could be offered to an infuriated soldiery. Let it be remembered of that gallant but misguided general, who has been so much deplored by the British nation, that, to the cupidity of his soldiers he promised the wealth of the city, as a recompense for their gallantry and desperation; while, with brutal licentiousness, they were to revel in lawless indulgence, and triumph uncontrolled over female innocence. Scenes like these our nation, dishonoured and insulted, had already witnessed; she had witnessed them at Hampton and Havre-de-Grace; but it was reserved for her yet to learn, that an officer of the character and standing of Sir Edward Pakenham, polished, generous, and brave, should, to induce his soldiers to acts of daring valour, permit them as a reward, to insult, injure, and debase those whom all mankind, even savages, reverence and respect. The History of Europe, since civilized warfare began, is challenged to afford an instance of such gross depravity, such wanton outrage on the morals and dignity of society. English writers may deny the correctness of the charge; it certainly interests them to do so: but its authenticity is too well established to admit of doubt, while its criminality is increased, from being the act of a people who hold themselves up to surrounding nations as examples of every thing that is correct and proper. The facts and circumstances which were presented at the time of this transaction left no doubt on the minds of our officers, but that "*Beauty and Booty*" was the watchword of the day. The information was obtained from prisoners, and confirmed by the books of two of their orderly-sergeants taken in battle, which contained record proof of the fact.

177. The events of this day afford abundant evidence of the liberality of the American soldiers, and show a striking difference in the troops of the two nations. While one were allured to acts of bravery and duty by the promised pillage and plunder of the inhabitants, and the commission of crimes abhorrent in the sight of earth and heaven, the other fought but for his country, and having repelled her assailants, instantly forgot all enmity, viewed his fallen foe as a brother, and hastened to assist him, even at the hazard of his own life. The gallantry of the British soldiers, and no people could have displayed greater, had brought many of them even to our ramparts, where, shot down by our troops, they were lying badly wounded. When the firing had ceased, and the columns had retired, our troops, with generous benevolence, advanced over their lines to assist and bring in the wounded which lay under and near the walls; when, strange to tell, the enemy from the ditch they occupied opened a fire upon them, and, though at a considerable distance, succeeded in wounding several. It was enough for our generous soldiers that they were doing an act which the benevolence of their hearts approved, and with charitable perseverance they continued to administer to the wants of these suffering men, and to carry them within their lines, although in their efforts they were continually exposed to danger. Let the apologist for crime say, wherefore were acts thus unpardonable committed against men, who were administering to the wants and relieving the sufferings of the dying countrymen of those who thus repaid the most laudable humanity with wanton and useless cruelty.

178. A communication, shortly after, from Major-General Lambert, on whom, in consequence of the fall of Generals Packenham, Gibbs, and Keane, the command had devolved, acknowledges to have witnessed the kindness of our troops to his wounded. He solicited of General Jackson permission to send an unarmed party to bury the dead lying before his lines, and to bring off such of the wounded as were dangerous. Though, in all probability, it was unknown to General Lambert what had been the conduct of his troops on this occasion, and unquestionably not authorised by him, yet Jackson, in answer to his dispatch, did not omit to bring it to his view, and to express his utter abhorrence of the act. The request to bury the dead was granted. General Jackson, though, refused to permit a near approach to his line, but consented that the wounded who were at a greater distance than three hundred yards from the intrenchment should be relieved, and the dead buried: those nearer were, by his own men, to be delivered over, to be in-

terred by their countrymen. This precaution was taken, that the enemy might not have an opportunity to inspect, or know any thing of his situation.

179. General Lambert, desirous of administering to the relief of the wounded, and that he might be relieved from his apprehensions of attack, proposed about noon, that hostilities should cease until the same hour the next day. General Jackson, cherishing the hope of being able to secure an important advantage by his apparent willingness to accede to the proposal, drew up an armistice, and forwarded it to General Lambert, with directions for it to be immediately returned if approved. It contained a stipulation to this effect—that hostilities on the left bank of the river should be discontinued from its ratification, but on the right bank they should not cease; and, in the interim, that under no circumstances were reinforcements to be sent across by either party. This was a bold stroke at stratagem; and although it succeeded even to the extent desired, was yet attended with considerable hazard. Reinforcements had been ordered over to retake the position lost by Morgan in the morning, and the general presumed they had arrived at their point of destination, but at this time they had not passed the river, nor could it be expected to be retaken with the same troops who had yielded it the day before, when possessed of advantages which gave them a decided superiority: this the commanding general well knew; yet to spare the sacrifice of his men which, in regaining it, he foresaw must be considerable, he was disposed to venture upon a course which, he felt assured, could not fail to succeed. It was impossible his object could be discovered; while he confidently believed the British commander would infer, from the prompt and ready manner in which his proposal had been met, that such additional troops were already thrown over as would be fully adequate to the purposes of attack, and greatly to endanger, if not wholly to cut off, Colonel Thornton's retreat. General Lambert's construction was such as had been anticipated. Although the armistice contained a request that it should be immediately signed and returned, it was neglected to be acted upon until the next day; and Thornton and his command were, in the interim, under cover of the night, re-crossed, and the ground they occupied left to be peaceably possessed by the original holders. The opportunity thus afforded of regaining a position on which, in a great degree, depended the safety of those on the opposite shore, was accepted with an avidity its importance merited, and immediate measures taken to increase its strength, and prepare it against any future attack

that might be made. This delay of the British commander was evidently designed, that, pending the negotiation, and before it was concluded, an opportunity might be had, either of throwing over reinforcements, or removing Colonel Thornton and his troops from a situation so extremely perilous. Early next morning, General Lambert returned his acceptance of what had been proposed, with an apology for having failed to reply sooner : he excused the omission, by pleading a press of business, which had occasioned the communication to be overlooked and neglected. Jackson was at no loss to attribute the delay to the correct motive : the apology, however, was as perfectly satisfactory to him as any thing that could have been offered ; beyond the object intended to be effected, he felt unconcerned, and having secured this rested perfectly satisfied. It cannot, however, appear otherwise than extraordinary, that this neglect should have been ascribed by the British general to accident, or a press of business, when it must have been, no doubt, of greater importance, at that moment, than any thing which he could possibly have had before him.

180. The armistice was this morning (9th of January) concluded, and agreed to continue until two o'clock in the evening. The dead and wounded were now removed from the field, which for three hundred yards in front of our line of defence, they almost literally covered. For the reason already suggested, our soldiers, within the line of demarcation between the two camps, delivered over to the British, who were not permitted to cross it, the dead for burial, and the wounded on parole, for which it was stipulated an equal number of American prisoners should be restored.

181. It has seldom happened that officers were more deceived in their expectations than they were in the result of this battle, or atoned more severely for their error : their reasoning had never led them to conclude that militia would maintain their ground when warmly assailed : no other belief was entertained, than alarmed at the appearance and orderly firm approach of veteran troops, they would at once forsake the contest, and in flight seek safety. At what part of our line they were stationed, was ascertained by information derived through a deserter on the 6th ; and influenced by a belief of their want of nerve, and deficiency in bravery, at this point the main assault was urged. They were indeed militia ; but the enemy could have assailed no part of our intrenchment where they would have met a warmer reception, or where they would have found greater strength : it was indeed the best defended part of the

line. The Kentucky and Tennessee troops, under Generals Carroll, Thomas, and Adair, were here, who had already, on former occasions, won a reputation that was too dear to be sacrificed. These divisions, alternately charging their pieces, and mounting the platform, poured forth a constant fire, that was impossible to be withstood, repelled the advancing columns, and drove them from the field, with prodigious slaughter.

182. There is one fact told, to which general credit seems to be attached, and which clearly shows the opinion had by the British of our militia, and the little fear which was entertained of any determined opposition from them. When repulsed from our line, the British officers were fully persuaded that the information given them by the deserter on the night of the 6th was false, and that instead of pointing out the ground defended by the militia, he had referred them to the place occupied by our best troops. Enraged at what they believed an intentional deception, they called their informant before them to account for the mischief he had done. It was in vain he urged his innocence, and, with the most solemn protestations, declared he had stated the fact truly as it was. They could not be convinced,—it was impossible that they had contended against any but the best-disciplined troops; and, without further ceremony, the poor fellow, suspended in view of the camp, expiated on a tree, not his crime, for what he had stated was true, but their error in underrating an enemy who had already afforded abundant evidences of valour. In all their future trials with our countrymen, may they be no less deceived, and discover in our yeomanry a determination to sustain with firmness a government which knows nothing of oppression; but which, on an enlarged and liberal scale, aims to secure the independence and happiness of man. If the people of the United States, free almost as the air they breathe, shall at any time omit to maintain their privileges and their government, then indeed will it be idle longer to speak of the rights of men, or of their capacity to govern themselves: the dream of liberty must fade away and perish for ever, no more to be remembered or thought of.

183. After the battle of the 8th of January, Jackson could have captured every man of the British force that was upon the land, if he had been supplied with arms, according to his own repeated urgent requests, and agreeably to the promises that were made him. Not having arms, he was compelled to let the remainder of the "heroes of the Peninsula" escape. They got to the other side of the river, and there they embarked, leaving behind them the contempt of the faithful Americans, and the

sympathetic sorrows of the traitors. Now, however, these traitors sang his praises in lofty strains; put up thanksgiving in their churches, called him "an instrument in the hands of God;" though a few days before, they would have sold him and his army, flesh, blood, bones and all. He submitted to the mummery of being fined for having imprisoned the judge, which he did, of course, in order to give an example of submission to the laws, most heartily despising the traitor, and all his brother traitors, at the same time. He found it necessary to remain at New Orleans till March, when he dismissed his troops in the following address, which ought to be read, and preserved, and cherished, in every country in the world:

*Address to the troops at New Orleans, after the annunciation of peace.*

The major-general is at length enabled to perform the pleasing task of restoring to Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, and the territory of the Mississippi, the brave troops who have acted such a distinguished part in the war which has just terminated. In restoring these brave men to their homes, much exertion is expected of, and great responsibility imposed on, the commanding officers of the different corps. It is required of Major-Generals Carroll and Thomas, and Brigadier-General Coffee, to march their commands, without unnecessary delay, to their respective states. The troops from the Mississippi territory and state of Louisiana, both militia and volunteers, will be immediately mustered out of service, paid, and discharged.

The major-general has the satisfaction of announcing the approbation of the President of the United States to the conduct of the troops under his command, expressed in flattering terms, through the honourable the secretary at war.

In parting with those brave men, whose destinies have been so long united with his own, and in whose labours and glories it is his happiness and his boast to have participated, the commanding general can neither suppress his feelings, nor give utterance to them as he ought. In what terms can he bestow suitable praise on merit so extraordinary, so unparalleled? Let him, in one burst of joy, gratitude, and exultation, exclaim—"These are the saviours of their country—these the patriot soldiers, who triumphed over the invincibles of Wellington, and conquered the conquerors of Europe!" With what patience did you submit to privations—with what fortitude did you endure fatigue—what valour did you display in the day of battle! You have secured to America a proud name among the nations of the earth—a glory which will never perish.

Possessing those dispositions, which equally adorn the citizen and the soldier, the expectations of your country will be met in peace, as her wishes have been gratified in war. Go, then, my brave companions, to your homes; to those tender connexions, and blissful scenes, which render life so dear—full of honour, and crowned with laurels which will never fade. When participating in the bosoms of your families, the enjoyment of peaceful life, with what happiness will you not look back to the toils you have borne—to the dangers you have encountered? How will all your past exposures be converted into sources of inexpressible delight! Who, that never experienced your sufferings, will be able to



appreciate your joys? The man who slumbered ingloriously at home, during your painful marches, your nights of watchfulness, and your days of toil, will envy you the happiness which these recollections will afford—still more will he envy the gratitude of that country which you have so eminently contributed to save.

Continue, fellow soldiers, on your passage to your several destinations, to preserve that subordination, that dignified and manly deportment, which have so ennobled your character.

While the commanding general is thus giving indulgence to his feelings towards those brave companions who accompanied him through difficulties and danger, he cannot permit the names of Blount, and Shelby, and Holmes, to pass unnoticed. With what generous ardour and patriotism have these distinguished governors contributed all their exertions to provide the means of victory! The recollection of their exertions, and of the success which has resulted, will be to them a reward more grateful than any which the pomp of title or the splendour of wealth can bestow.

What happiness it is to the commanding general, that, while danger was before him, he was, on no occasion, compelled to use towards his companions in arms, either severity or rebuke! If, after the enemy had retired, improper passions began their empire in a few unworthy bosoms, and rendered a resort to energetic measures necessary for their suppression, he has not confounded the innocent with the guilty—the seduced with the seducers. Towards you, fellow soldiers, the most cheering recollections exist; blended, alas! with regret, that disease and war should have ravished from us so many worthy companions. But the memory of the cause in which they perished, and of the virtues which animated them while living, must occupy the place where sorrow would claim to dwell.

Farewell, fellow-soldiers. The expression of your general's thanks is feeble, but the gratitude of a country of freemen is yours—yours the applause of an admiring world.

ANDREW JACKSON,

*Major-General commanding.*

184. Let us now see the pretty story which the government dressed up to gull the people of England with. It will be remembered, that Pakenham, and Gibbs, and Keane, had been killed, or put *hors de combat*; so that Lambert became the commander-in-chief. Lambert sent home his dispatch, though of what date, we were not told. Lambert's dispatch was never given to the public. What is called a "bulletin" was dressed up, and published in the London Gazette in the following words, on the 8th of March, 1815:

#### BULLETIN.

*War Department, March 8, 1815.*

Captain Wylly arrived this morning with dispatches from Major-General Lambert, detailing the operations against the enemy in the neighbourhood of New Orleans. It appears that the army under the command of Major-General Keane, was landed at the head of the Bayonne, in the vicinity of New Orleans, on the morning of the 23rd December, without

opposition ; it was, however, attacked by the enemy in the course of the night succeeding the landing, when, after an obstinate contest, the enemy were repulsed at all points with considerable loss. On the morning of the 25th, Sir E. Packenham arrived, and assumed the command of the army. On the 27th, at day-light, the troops moved forward, driving the enemy's picquets to within six miles of the town, when the main body of the enemy was discovered posted behind a breast-work, extending about one thousand yards, with the right resting on the Mississippi, and the left on a thick wood. The interval between the 27th December and the 8th January was employed in preparations for an attack upon the enemy's position. The attack which was intended to have been made on the night of the 7th, did not, owing to the difficulties experienced in the passage of the Mississippi, by a corps under Lieutenant-Colonel Thornton, which was destined to act on the right bank of the river, take place till early on the morning of the 8th. The division to whom the storming of the enemy's work was entrusted, moved to the attack at that time, but being too soon discovered by the enemy, were received with a galling and severe fire from all parts of their line. Major-General Sir Edward Packenham, who had placed himself at the head of the troops, was unfortunately killed at the head of the glacis, and Major-Generals Gibbs and Keane were nearly at the same moment wounded. The effect of this upon the troops caused a hesitation in their advance, and though order was restored by the advance of the reserve under Major-General Lambert, to whom the command of the army had devolved, and Colonel Thornton had succeeded in the operation assigned to him on the right bank of the river ; yet the Major-General, upon the consideration of the difficulties which yet remained to be surmounted, did not think himself justified in ordering a renewal of the attack. The troops, therefore, retired to the position which they had occupied previous to the attack. In that position they remained until the evening of the 18th, when the whole of the wounded, with the exception of eighty (whom it was considered dangerous to remove), the field artillery, and all the stores of every description, having been embarked, the army retired to the head of the Bayonne, where the landing had been originally effected, and re-embarked without molestation.

185. And this was all that the people of this duped nation ever heard of the matter from first to last. Buonaparte had landed at this time from Elba, and the battle of Waterloo soon succeeded ; and both government and people were extremely glad to forget all about this unmerciful beating in America. This battle of New Orleans broke the heart of European despotism ; and the man who won it, did, in that one act, more for the good and the honour of the human race, than ever was yet done by any other man besides himself.

## CHAPTER VI.

FROM MARCH 1815 TO FEBRUARY 1834.

Becomes a senator in the congress of the United States, for the state of Tennessee.—Is a candidate for the presidency, 1824.—Has the greatest number of votes, but is kept out by a trick of Clay and Crawford.—Is chosen president in 1829.—Declares against a renewal of the bank-charter.—Puts his veto on a bill to renew the charter of the bank.—The banks form a conspiracy against his re-election.—He is re-elected in the fall of 1832.—He denounces the bank, exposes its corruption and bribery, takes the deposits from the bank and places them in the state banks.—Publishes his reasons for doing this.—Person and character.

186. Once more Jackson returned to his farm at Nashville ; but after all these exploits ; after the exhibition of such talent, such inflexible resolution in the performance of every thing which he deemed for the honour and good of his country, it was impossible that a sensible and grateful people should be satisfied without seeing him in the occupation of some important public post. He was soon, therefore, again a member of the congress ; one of the two senators for his own domestic state of Tennessee. At the time when he returned home, Mr. Madison was the president ; Munro succeeded Madison in 1816 ; and he continued in the office till 1824. In 1824 a new president being to be chosen, Jackson, popular with all but the envious few, and the monopolizing paper-money many, was put in nomination as a candidate for the presidency ; and he had *more votes* than any other candidate, yet he was not chosen president. The English reader will ask how this can be : it is thus. The law is, that *electors* of the president shall be chosen by the people in every state ; that these electors shall each give his vote for some one person to be president ; that any candidate who has a majority of the votes of the whole of the electors shall be the president ; but, if there be no one who has a majority of the whole of the votes of the electors, then the president shall be chosen by the members of the House of Representatives ; but that there they shall vote by *states* ; and that each state shall have *one vote and no more*. Now, there were four candidates having votes of electors as follows :—

Jackson	-	-	-	-	99
Adams	-	-	-	-	84
Crawford	-	-	-	-	47
Clay	-	-	-	-	31

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187. Therefore, Jackson not having a majority of the whole, the other kind of election took place; and as they were the great States who were for him, and the small States for Adams, the other mode of election made Adams the president, though with a minority of votes! This was a vindictive trick of Clay, who envied and hated Jackson. Crawford and Clay appear to have stood forward for the express purpose of gratifying their envy of Jackson; and thus for four years they deprived the people of the services of the man of their choice. It is right to observe here on the sound judgment of the American people, as most fully proved upon this occasion. The president, though, as we have seen, a most able and beautiful writer, appears never to have taken much part in the war of words. Clay is, they say, one of the best speech-makers in the world; but the people did not want a speech-maker: they remembered that Washington was no speech-maker; they wanted a man of tried fidelity and resolution; and, above all things, a man hostile to the frauds of paper-money: they knew that they had a hydra to destroy, and they wanted a Hercules for a president. Mr. Ronaldson, of Philadelphia, a most sensible, clear-sighted, and public-spirited man, an essay from whose pen I myself published in England pretty nearly twenty years ago, showing that, if the paper-money were not put a stop to, it must destroy the liberties of America; this Mr. Ronaldson, a native of Scotland, but settled from his youth in Philadelphia, I saw at New York, in 1818; and he then again pressed upon me the necessity of all good people combining against the infamous paper-money. I do not know, and I never have known, a cleverer man than Mr. Ronaldson: I have been informed by a gentleman from Philadelphia, and now in England, that Mr. Ronaldson was the first man in America to propose Jackson for president; that he called a meeting for the purpose in Philadelphia; and from that meeting the proposition spread itself over the union. I have thought it just towards Mr. Ronaldson to relate this fact; and I thought it just to our cause also; because the first thought of the matter having emanated from the mind of such a man, is an additional proof of the wisdom of the choice made by the people.

188. Adams' four years having expired, he tried the thing again; but the field was now clear of Clay and of Crawford, who had got pretty well execrated for their conduct at the preceding election; and now the votes of the electors stood thus:

Jackson	- -	178
Adams	- -	83

— Total - 261

189. Now it was, and now it is, that he had, and has, to overcome a more deadly enemy of his country than either the British, or the savages, namely, the *monster of paper-money!* In the year 1816, a charter had been granted by the government of the United States, to make a bank of the United States, as nearly as possible like the Bank of England. This bank was a great extension of the paper-money system which had before existed. It was to receive as *deposits* the taxes raised by the United States; it was to pay the dividends on the United States' stock or debt; it was to make advances to the government, if necessary; in short, like the Bank of England, it was to lend the people its notes, bottomed upon the people's own money; and it necessarily would have, and it did have, the power of raising and of lowering prices at its pleasure; and thus of enormously enriching the few at the expense of the industrious many, and of producing all those other terrible evils which, by the time that Jackson became president, in 1829, had covered that once-happy country with misery. Jackson was too just and too wise a man not to use all his lawful powers for putting an end to this hellish system. He was no sooner in possession of his office than he began to take steps for this purpose. In his annual message delivered to the congress, in December 1829, in December 1830, and in December 1831, he expressed his opinions very freely as to this matter, and those opinions decidedly hostile to the bank, and banking system. In the session of the winter of 1832, the villanous paper-money people, and their supporters, laid a scheme for ousting him from his presidency, or for compelling him to give up his hostility to the banks. If he intended to be chosen again, next year was the time for the election; and, therefore, they thought they would put him to the test, which they did by bringing in, and passing through the two houses, a *bill for the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States*. This was wholly unnecessary, the charter of the bank *having four years yet unexpired*; but his re-election was coming on; and this was to try him before that took place; if he *signed the act*, then it did not signify whether he were elected or not: if he refused to sign it, then there was time to *defeat his election*.

190. He knew all this as well as the vile paper-money crew knew it; but when the bill reached him he instantly put his veto upon it, and told the two Houses that he never would put his hand to a charter of the bank as long as he existed. This was at the close of the session of 1832; and his re-election was to come on in October of that same year. He told the congress,

that he clearly saw that this bill was tendered to him as the means of putting him to the test, and of putting the people to the test too; and in conclusion of his reasons against signing the bill, he said, "I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow-citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not, I shall find in the motives which impel me ample grounds for contentment and peace." The re-election was to come, as has been just observed, in October; and the bank and all its branches, and all the bankers in the whole country, set to work to defeat his re-election. The bank of the United States made enormous issues of fresh paper, and lent this paper to persons publishing newspapers, and to writers and other persons connected with the press, in order so to work as to prevent his re-election. These miscreants endeavoured to alarm the people at the prospect of low prices and of general bankruptcy and ruin; and the watchword of the election was, "Jackson and hard money," on one side; and the "Bank and its supporters," on the other side. It appears that the bank had a very large part of the newspaper press actually in its pay. Nevertheless, the people decided for Jackson. He had, upon this occasion, not three opponents, as before, but one, namely, his bitter and envious enemy, Mr. Clay, over whom he obtained a majority very great indeed. He had the last time to contend with Adams, who had none but the aristocratical party for him. Clay was, therefore, chosen as his opponent this time, it being supposed that the aristocratical party would all vote for Clay, though he had always been of the other party. Of the two it was thought that they would prefer Clay; and it was thought that some of the democratic party, at any rate, would vote for Clay. These calculations, though rational enough, were thwarted by the event: all the people knew that Jackson had declared against the bank; and being of his opinion, they decided by a great majority, that the bank ought to cease. The people chose Jackson; and, by choosing him, they decided in favour of hard money. When the English reader is thus informed of the history of these two elections, he will cease to be surprised at the very long and admirably eloquent speeches of Mr. Clay, against what he calls the "tyranny" of the "dictator" Jackson; and he will cease to wonder, that these very lengthy and most pathetic patriotic harangues appear to produce no more effect upon the American people, than is produced on them by the squeaking of the frogs, the clamour of the Kiddadids, or the whistling of the "whipper-wills." But, the delinquencies of these infamous bankers were not to

be tolerated any longer. The president had determined not to renew the charter of this great bank; but it had too long a time to do mischief in; and he, therefore, resolved to pare its nails. The Act establishing the bank provided, that the public money should be deposited in the bank, unless the secretary of the Treasury should *think proper to deposit it at any other place, which he might do at any time, merely informing the House of Representatives that he had so done*; and, as this secretary is appointed by the president himself, he will hardly, in such a case, act contrary to his will. The president, therefore, ordered the secretary of the Treasury, or at least induced him, to take the *deposits* from the great bank, and place them in some of the state banks. One secretary would not do this, and he was compelled to choose another that would do it. In justification of a measure so decided, and of such vast importance, the president exposed the corruption, the bribery, the roguery indescribable, of this abominable Bank of the United States; and showed, that neither law, nor constitution, nor private property, nor public safety, could co-exist with this atrocious institution. As a vehicle for these his accusations against the bank, he published, on the 28th of September, 1833, a letter, addressed by him to the several ministers of his cabinet. This letter, one of the greatest acts of his whole wonderful life, I here insert, as containing the history of the abominations of this nefarious bank, and as containing the grounds of all those proceedings of the president, which he is now (March, 1834) pushing forward, and which promise to deliver his country from the accursed scourge of paper-money.

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*Read to the Cabinet on the 18. of September, 1833.*

A. Having carefully and anxiously considered all the facts and arguments which have been submitted to him, relative to a removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, the President deems it his duty to communicate in this manner to his Cabinet the final conclusions of his own mind, and the reasons on which they are founded, in order to put them in a durable form, and to prevent misconceptions.

B. The President's convictions of the dangerous tendencies of the Bank of the United States, since signally illustrated by its own acts, were so overpowering when he entered upon the duties of chief magistrate, that he felt it his duty, notwithstanding the objections of the friends by whom he was surrounded, to avail himself of the first occasion to call the attention of Congress and the people to the question of its re-charter. The opinions expressed in his annual message of December 1829, were reiterated in those of December 1830 and 1831; and in that of 1830 he threw out for consideration some suggestions in relation to a

substitute. At the session of 1831-2, an act was passed by a majority of both Houses of Congress re-chartering the present bank, upon which the President felt it his duty to put his constitutional veto. In his message, returning that act, he repeated and enlarged upon the principles and views briefly asserted in his annual messages, declaring the bank to be, in his opinion, both inexpedient and unconstitutional, and announcing to his countrymen, very unequivocally, his firm determination never to sanction, by his approval, the continuance of that institution, or the establishment of any other upon similar principles.

C. There are strong reasons for believing that the motive of the Bank in asking for a re-charter at that session of Congress, was to make it a leading question in the election of a President of the United States the ensuing November, and all steps deemed necessary were taken to procure from the people a reversal of the President's decision.

D. Although the charter was approaching its termination, and the Bank was aware that it was the intention of the Government to use the public deposits, as fast as they accrued, in the payment of the public debt, yet it did extend its loans from January 1831 to May 1832, from 42,402,304 dollars to 70,428,070 dollars, being an increase of 28,025,766 dollars in sixteen months. It is confidently believed that the leading object of this immense extension of its loans was to bring as large a portion of the people as possible under its power and influence; and it has been disclosed that some of the largest sums were granted on very unusual terms to conductors of the public press. In some of these cases the motive was made manifest by the nominal or insufficient security taken for the loans, by the large amounts discounted, by the extraordinary time allowed for payment, and especially by the subsequent conduct of those receiving the accommodation.

E. Having taken these preliminary steps to obtain control over public opinion, the Bank came into Congress and asked a new charter. The object avowed by many of the advocates of the Bank, was to put the President to the test, that the country might know his final determination relative to the Bank, prior to the ensuing election. Many documents and articles were printed and circulated at the expense of the Bank, to bring the people to a favourable decision upon its pretensions. Those whom the Bank appears to have made its debtors for the special occasion, were warned of the ruin which awaited them should the President be sustained, and attempts were made to alarm the whole people, by painting the depression in the price of property and produce, and the general loss, inconvenience, and distress, which it was represented would immediately follow the re-election of the President in opposition to the Bank.

F. Can it now be said that the question of a re-charter of the Bank was not decided at the election which ensued? Had the veto been equivocal, or had it not covered the whole ground,—if it had merely taken exceptions to the details of the bill, or to the time of its passage,—if it had not met the whole ground of constitutionality and expediency, then there might have been some plausibility for the allegation that the question was not decided by the people. It was to compel the President to take his stand that the question was brought forward at that particular time. He met the challenge, willingly took the position into which his adversaries sought to force him, and frankly declared his unalterable opposition to the Bank, as being both unconstitutional and inexpedient. On that ground the case was argued to the people, and now that the people have sustained the President notwithstanding the array of influence and



power which was brought to bear upon him, it is too late, he confidently thinks, to say that the question has not been decided. Whatever may be the opinions of others, the President considers his re-election as a decision of the people against the Bank. In the concluding paragraph of this veto message he said—

G. "I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow-citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not, I shall find in the motives which impel me, ample grounds for contentment and peace."

He was sustained by a just people, and he desires to evince his gratitude, by carrying into effect their decision, so far as it depends upon him.

H. Of all the substitutes for the present Bank which have been suggested, none seems to have united any considerable portion of the public in its favour. Most of them are liable to the same constitutional objections for which the present Bank has been condemned, and perhaps to all there are strong objections on the score of expediency. In ridding the country of the irresponsible power which has attempted to control the Government, care must be taken not to unite the same power with the executive branch. To give a President the control over the currency, and the power over individuals, now possessed by the Bank of the United States, even with the material difference that he is responsible to the people, would be as objectionable and as dangerous as to leave it as it is. Neither the one nor the other is necessary, and therefore ought not to be resorted to.

I. On the whole, the President considers it as conclusively settled that the charter of the Bank of the United States will not be renewed, and he has no reasonable ground to believe that any substitute will be established. Being bound to regulate his course by the laws as they exist, and not to anticipate the interference of the legislative power, for the purpose of framing new systems, it is proper for him seasonably to consider the means by which the services rendered by the Bank of the United States are to be performed after its charter shall expire.

K. The existing laws declare, that "the deposits of the money of the United States in places in which the said Bank and branches thereof may be established, shall be made in said Bank or branches thereof, unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall at any time otherwise order and direct, in which case the Secretary of the Treasury shall immediately lay before Congress, if in session, and if not, immediately after the commencement of the next session, the reason of such order or direction."

L. The power of the Secretary of the Treasury over the deposits is unqualified. The provision that he shall report his reasons to Congress is no limitation. Had it not been inserted, he would have been responsible to Congress had he made a removal for any other than good reasons, and his responsibility now ceases upon the rendition of sufficient ones to Congress. The only object of the provision is to make his reasons accessible to Congress, and enable that body the more readily to judge of their soundness and purity, and thereupon to make such further provision by law as the legislative power may think proper in relation to the deposit of the public money. Those reasons may be very diversified. It was asserted by the Secretary of the Treasury, without contradiction, as early as 1817, that he had power "to control the proceedings" of the Bank of the United States at any moment, "by changing the deposits to the State Banks," should it pursue an illiberal course towards those institutions; that "the Secretary of the Treasury will always be disposed to support the credit of the State Banks, and will invariably direct transfers from the

deposits of the public money in aid of their legitimate exertions to maintain their credit," and he asserted a right to employ the State Banks when the Bank of the United States should refuse to receive on deposit the notes of such State Banks as the public interest required should be received in payment of the public dues. In several instances he did transfer the public deposits to State Banks, in the immediate vicinity of branches, for reasons connected only with the safety of these banks, the public convenience, and the interests of the Treasury.

M. If it was lawful for Mr. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury, at that time to act on these principles, it will be difficult to discover any sound reason against the application of similar principles in still stronger cases. And it is a matter of surprise that a power which, in the infancy of the Bank, was freely asserted as one of the ordinary and familiar duties of the Secretary of the Treasury, should now be gravely questioned, and attempts made to excite and alarm the public mind as if some new and unheard-of power was about to be usurped by the executive branch of the Government.

N. It is but a little more than two years and a half to the termination of the charter of the present Bank. It is considered, as the decision of the country, that it shall then cease to exist, and no man, the President believes, has reasonable ground for expectation that any other bank of the United States will be created by Congress. To the Treasury Department is intrusted the safe keeping and faithful application of the public monies. A plan of collection different from the present must, therefore, be introduced and put in complete operation before the dissolution of the present Bank. When shall it be commenced? Shall no step be taken in this essential concern until the charter expires, and the Treasury finds itself without an agent, its accounts in confusion, with no depository for its funds, and the whole business of the Government deranged? Or shall it be delayed until six months, or a year, or two years, before the expiration of the charter? It is obvious that any new system which may be substituted in the place of the Bank of the United States, could not be suddenly carried into effect on the termination of its existence without serious inconvenience to the Government and the people. Its vast amount of notes is then to be redeemed and withdrawn from circulation, and its immense debt collected. These operations must be gradual, otherwise much suffering and distress will be brought upon the community. It ought to be, not a work of months only, but of years, and the President thinks it cannot, with due attention to the interests of the people, be longer postponed. It is safer to begin it too soon than to delay it too long.

O. It is for the wisdom of Congress to decide upon the best substitute to be adopted in the place of the Bank of the United States; and the President would have felt himself relieved from a heavy and painful responsibility if in the charter to the Bank, Congress had reserved to itself the power of directing, at its pleasure, the public money to be elsewhere deposited, and had not devolved that power exclusively on one of the executive departments. It is useless now to inquire why this high and important power was surrendered by those who are peculiarly and appropriately the guardians of the public money. Perhaps it was an oversight. But as the President presumes that the charter to the Bank is to be considered as a contract on the part of the Government, it is not now in the power of Congress to disregard its stipulations; and by the terms of that contract the public money is to be deposited in the Bank during the continuance

of its charter, unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall otherwise direct. Unless, therefore, the Secretary of the Treasury first acts, Congress have no power over the subject, for they cannot add a new clause to the charter, or strike one out of it, without the consent of the Bank; and consequently the public money must remain in that institution to the last hour of its existence, unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall remove it at an earlier day. The responsibility is thus thrown upon the executive branch of the Government, of deciding how long before the expiration of the charter the public interests will require the deposits to be placed elsewhere; and although, according to the frame and principle of our government, this decision would seem more properly to belong to the legislative power, yet, as the law has imposed it upon the executive department, the duty ought to be faithfully and firmly met, and the decision made and executed upon the best lights that can be obtained, and the best judgment that can be formed. It would ill become the executive branch of the Government to shrink from any duty which the law imposes on it, to fix upon others the responsibility which justly belongs to itself.

P. And while the President anxiously wishes to abstain from the exercise of doubtful powers, and to avoid all interference with the rights and duties of others, he must yet, with unshaken constancy, discharge his own obligations: and cannot allow himself to turn aside, in order to avoid any responsibility which the high trust with which he has been honoured requires him to encounter; and it being the duty of one of the executive departments to decide, in the first instance, subject to the future action of the legislative power, whether the public deposits shall remain in the Bank of the United States until the end of its existence, or be withdrawn some time before, the President has felt himself bound to examine the question carefully and deliberately, in order to make up his judgment on the subject; and in his opinion the near approach of the termination of the charter, and the public considerations heretofore mentioned, are of themselves amply sufficient to justify the removal of the deposits without reference to the conduct of the Bank, or their safety in its keeping.

Q. But in the conduct of the Bank may be found other reasons very imperative in their character, and which require prompt action. Developments have been made from time to time of its faithlessness as a public agent, its misapplication of public funds, its interference in elections, its efforts by the machinery of committees to deprive the Government directors of a full knowledge of its concerns, and, above all, its flagrant misconduct as recently and unexpectedly disclosed in placing all the funds of the Bank, including the money of the Government, at the disposition of the President of the Bank, as means of operating upon public opinion and procuring a new charter without requiring him to render a voucher for their disbursement. A brief recapitulation of the facts which justify these charges and which have come to the knowledge of the public and the President, will, he thinks, remove every reasonable doubt as to the course which it is now the duty of the President to pursue.

R. We have seen, that in sixteen months, ending in May 1833, the Bank had extended its loans more than 28,000,000 dollars, although it knew the Government intended to appropriate most of its large deposits during that year in payment of the public debt. It was in May 1832 that its loans arrived at the maximum, and in the preceding March, so sensible was the Bank that it would not be able to pay over the public deposits when it would be required by the Government, that it commenced a secret negotiation without the approbation or knowledge of the

Government with the agents, for about 2,700,000 dollars of the 3 per cent stocks held in Holland, with a view of inducing them not to come forward for payment for one or more years after notice should be given by the Treasury Department. This arrangement would have enabled the Bank to keep and use during that time the public money set apart for the payment of these stocks.

S. After this negotiation had commenced, the Secretary of the Treasury informed the Bank that it was his intention to pay off one-half of the 3 per cents. on the 1st of the succeeding July, which amounted to about 6,500,000 dollars. The President of the Bank, although the committee of investigation was then looking into its affairs at Philadelphia, came immediately to Washington, and upon representing that the Bank was desirous of accommodating the importing merchants at New York (which it failed to do), and undertaking to pay the interest itself, procured the consent of the Secretary, after consulting with the President, to postpone the payment until the succeeding 1st of October.

T. Conscious that at the end of that quarter the Bank would not be able to pay over the deposits, and that further indulgence was not to be expected of the Government, an agent was dispatched to England, secretly to negotiate with the holders of the public debt in Europe, and induce them by the offer of an equal or higher interest than that paid by the Government to hold back their claims for one year, during which the Bank expected thus to retain the use of 5,000,000 dollars of public money, which the Government should set apart for the payment of that debt. The agent made an arrangement on terms, in part, which were in direct violation of the charter of the Bank, and when some incidents connected with this secret negotiation accidentally came to the knowledge of the public and the Government, then, and not before, so much of it as was palpably in violation of the charter was disavowed! A modification of the rest was attempted, with the view of getting the certificates without payment of the money, and thus absolving the Government from its liability to the holders. In this scheme the Bank was partially successful, but to this day the certificates of a portion of these stocks have not been paid, and the Bank retains the use of the money.

U. This effort to thwart the Government in the payment of the public debt, that it might retain the public money to be used for their private interests, palliated by pretences notoriously unfounded and insincere, would have justified the instant withdrawal of the public deposits. The negotiation itself rendered doubtful the ability of the Bank to meet the demands of the Treasury, and the misrepresentations by which it was attempted to be justified, proved that no reliance could be placed upon its allegations.

V. If the question of a removal of the deposits presented itself to the executive in the same attitude that it appeared before the House of Representatives at their last session, their resolution in relation to the safety of the deposits would be entitled to more weight, although the decision of the question of removal has been confided by law to another department of the Government. But the question now occurs, attended by other circumstances and new disclosures of the most serious import. It is true that in the message of the President, which produced this inquiry and resolution on the part of the House of Representatives, it was his object to obtain the aid of that body in making a thorough examination into the conduct and condition of the Bank and its branches, in order to enable the executive department to decide whether the public money was longer safe in its hands. The limited power of the Secretary of the

Treasury over the subject, disabled him from making the investigation as fully and satisfactorily as it could be done by a committee of the House of Representatives, and hence the President desired the assistance of Congress to obtain for the Treasury department a full knowledge of all the facts which were necessary to guide his judgment. But it was not his purpose, as the language of his message will show, to ask the representatives of the people to assume a responsibility which did not belong to them, and relieve the executive branch of the Government from the duty which the law had imposed upon it. It is due to the President that his object in that proceeding should be distinctly understood, and that he should acquit himself of all suspicion of seeking to escape from the performance of his own duties, or of desiring to interpose another body between himself and the people, in order to avoid a measure which he is called upon to meet. But although, as an act of justice to himself, he disclaims any design of soliciting the opinion of the House of Representatives in relation to his own duties, in order to shelter himself from the responsibility under the sanction of their counsel, yet he is at all times ready to listen to the suggestions of the representatives of the people, whether given voluntarily or upon solicitation, and to consider them with the profound respect to which all will admit they are justly entitled. Whatever may be the consequences, however, to himself, he must finally form his own judgment where the constitution and the law make it his duty to decide, and must act accordingly; and he is bound to suppose that such a course on his part will never be regarded by that elevated body as a mark of disrespect to itself, but that they will, on the contrary, esteem it the strongest evidence he can give of his fixed resolution conscientiously to discharge his duty to them and the country.

W. A new state of things has, however, arisen since the close of the last session of Congress, and evidence has since been laid before the President, which he is persuaded would have led the House of Representatives to a different conclusion, if it had come to their knowledge. The fact that the Bank controls, and in some cases substantially owns, and by its money supports some of the leading presses of the country, is now more clearly established. Editors to whom it loaned extravagant sums in 1831 and 1832, on unusual time and nominal security, have since turned out to be insolvents; and to others, apparently in no better condition, accommodations still more extravagant, on terms more unusual, and sometimes without any security, have also been heedlessly granted.

X. The allegation which has so often circulated through these channels, that the Treasury was bankrupt, and the Bank were sustaining it; when for many years there has not been less on an average than six millions of public money in that institution, might be passed over as a harmless misrepresentation; but when it is attempted by substantial acts to impair the credit of the Government, and tarnish the honour of the country, such charges require more serious attention. With six millions of public money in its vaults, after having had the use of from five to twelve millions for nine years, without interest, it became the purchaser of a bill drawn by our Government on that of France for about 900,000 dollars, being the first instalment of the French indemnity. The purchase-money was left in the use of the Bank, being simply added to the Treasury deposits. The Bank sold the bill in England, and the holder sent it to France for collection, and arrangements not having been made by the French Government for its payment, it was taken up by the agents of the Bank in Paris with the funds of the Bank in their hands. Under these

circumstances it has, through its organs, openly assailed the credit of the Government; and has actually made, and persists in a demand of 15 per cent., or 15,684,277 dollars as damages, when no damage or none beyond some trifling expense, has in fact been sustained; and when the Bank had in its own possession in deposit several millions of the public money, which it was then using for its own profit. Is a fiscal agent of the Government, which thus seeks to enrich itself at the expense of the public, worthy of further trust?

Y. There are other important facts not in the contemplation of the House of Representatives, or not known to the Members at the time they voted for the resolution.

Z. Although the charter and the rules of the Bank both declared that "not less than seven directors" shall be necessary to the transaction of business, yet the most important business, even that of granting discounts to any extent, is intrusted to a committee of five members, who do not report to the board.

a. To cut off all means of communication with the Government in relation to its own most important acts, at the commencement of the present year, not one of the Government Directors was placed on any one committee; and although since, by an unusual remodelling of those bodies, some of those directors have been placed on some of the committees, they are yet entirely excluded from the committee of exchange, through which the greatest and most objectionable loans have been made.

b. When the Government Directors made an effort to bring back the business of the Bank to the Board, in obedience to the charter and the existing regulations, the Board not only overruled their attempt, but altered the rule, so as to make it conform to the practice, in direct violation of one of the most important provisions of the charter which gave them existence.

c. It has long been known that the President of the Bank by his single will originates and executes many of the most important measures connected with the management and credit of the Bank, and that the committee, as well as the Board of Directors, are left in entire ignorance of many acts done, and correspondence carried on, in their name, and apparently under their authority. The fact has been recently disclosed, that an unlimited discretion has been, and is now, vested in the President of the Bank, to expend its funds in payment for preparing and circulating articles, and purchasing pamphlets and newspapers, calculated by their contents to operate on elections, and secure a renewal of its charter. It appears from the official report of the public directors, that on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, 1830, the President submitted to the Board an article published in the *American Quarterly Review*, containing favourable notices of the Bank, and suggesting the expediency of giving it a wider circulation at the expense of the Bank; whereupon the Board passed the following resolution, viz:—

d. "Resolved,—That the President be authorized to take such measures in regard to the circulation of the contents of the said article, either in whole or in part, as he may deem most for the interest of the Bank."

e. By an entry of the minutes of the Bank, dated March the 11., 1831, it appears that the President had not only caused a large edition of that article to be issued, but had also, before the resolution of the 30<sup>th</sup> of November was adopted, procured to be printed and widely circulated numerous copies of the reports of General Smith and Mr. M'Duffie in favour of the Bank, and on that day he suggested the expediency of extending his

power to the printing of other articles which might subserve the purposes of the institution. Whereupon the following resolution was adopted, viz.:—

f. "Resolved,—That the President is hereby authorized to cause to be prepared and circulated such documents and papers as may communicate to the people information in regard to the nature and operations of the Bank,"

g. The expenditure purporting to have been made under authority of these resolutions, during the years 1831 and 1832, were about 80,000 dollars. For a portion of these expenditures vouchers were rendered, from which it appears that they were incurred in the purchase of some hundred thousand copies of newspapers, reports of and speeches made in Congress, reviews of the veto message, and reviews of speeches against the Bank, &c. For another large portion no vouchers whatever were rendered, but the various sums were paid on orders of the President of the Bank, making reference to the resolutions of the 11. of March, 1831.

h. On ascertaining these facts, and perceiving that expenditures of a similar character were still continued, the Government directors a few weeks ago offered a resolution to the Board calling for a specific account of these expenditures, showing the objects to which they had been applied, and the persons to whom the money had been paid. This reasonable proposition was voted down.

i. They also offered a resolution, rescinding the resolutions of November 1830, and March 1831. This was also rejected.

j. Not content with thus refusing to recall the obnoxious power, or even to require such an account of the expenditure as would show whether the money of the Bank had, in fact, been applied to the objects contemplated by those resolutions, as obnoxious as they were, the Board renewed the power already conferred, and even enjoined renewed attention to its exercise, by adopting the following in lieu of the proposition submitted by the Government Directors:—

k. "Resolved,—That the Board have confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the President, and in the propriety of the resolutions of the 30. of November, 1830, and the 11. of March, 1831, and entertain a full conviction of the necessity of a renewed attention to the object of those resolutions, and that the President be authorized and requested to continue his exertions for the promotion of the said object."

l. Taken in connexion with the nature of the expenditures heretofore made, as recently disclosed, which the Board not only tolerate but approve, this resolution puts the funds of the Bank at the disposition of the President, for the purpose of employing the whole press of the country in the service of the Bank, to hire writers and newspapers, and to pay out such sums as he pleases, to what persons and for what services he pleases, without the responsibility of rendering any specific account. The Bank is thus converted into a vast electioneering engine, with means to embroil the country in deadly feuds, and, under cover of expenditures in themselves improper, extend its corruption through all the ramifications of society.

m. Some of the items for which accounts have been rendered, show the construction which has been given to the resolutions, and the way in which the power it confers has been exerted. The money has not been expended merely in the publication and distribution of speeches, reports of committees, and of articles written for the purpose of showing the constitutionality or usefulness of the Bank. Publications have been

prepared and extensively circulated, containing the grossest invectives against the officers of the Government; and the money which belongs to the stockholders and to the public, has been freely applied, in efforts to degrade in public estimation those who were supposed to be instrumental in resisting the wishes of this grasping and dangerous institution. As the President of the Bank has not been required to settle his accounts, no one but himself yet knows how much more than the sum already mentioned may have been squandered, and for which a credit may hereafter be claimed in his account, under this most extraordinary resolution. With these facts before us, can we be surprised at the torrent of abuse incessantly poured out against all who are supposed to stand in the way of the cupidity or ambition of the Bank of the United States? Can we be surprised at sudden and unexpected changes of opinion in favour of an institution which has millions to lavish, and avows its determination not to spare its means when they are necessary to accomplish its purposes? The refusal to render an account of the manner in which a part of the money expended has been applied, gives just cause for the suspicion, that it has been used for purposes which it is not deemed prudent to expose to the eyes of an intelligent and virtuous people. Those who act justly do not shun the light, nor do they refuse explanations when the propriety of their conduct is brought into question.

n. With these facts before him, in an official report from the Government Directors, the President would feel that he is not only responsible for all the abuses and corruptions the Bank has committed, or may commit, but almost an accomplice in a conspiracy against that Government which he had sworn honestly to administer, if he did not take every step within his constitutional and legal power, likely to be efficient in putting an end to these enormities. If it be possible, within the scope of human affairs, to find a reason for removing the Government deposits, and leaving the Bank to its own resources for the means of effecting its criminal designs, we have it here. Was it expected, when the monies of the United States were directed to be placed in that Bank, that they would be put under the control of one man, empowered to spend millions without rendering a voucher or specifying the object? Can they be considered safe, with the evidence before us, that tens of thousands have been spent for highly improper, if not corrupt purposes, and that the same motive may lead to the expenditure of hundreds of thousands, and even millions, more? And can we justify ourselves to the people by longer lending to it the money and power of the Government, to be employed for such purposes?

o. It has been alleged by some, as an objection to the removal of the deposits, that the Bank has the power, and in that event will have the disposition, to destroy the State Banks employed by the Government, and bring distress upon the country. It has been the fortune of the President to encounter dangers which were represented as equally alarming, and he has seen them vanish before resolution and energy. Pictures equally appalling were paraded before him when this Bank came to demand a new charter. But what was the result? Has the country been ruined, or even distressed? Was it ever more prosperous than since that act? The President verily believes the Bank has not the power to produce the calamities its friends threaten. The funds of the Government will not be annihilated by being transferred; they will immediately be issued for the benefit of trade, and if the Bank of the United States curtails its loans, the State Banks, strengthened by the public deposits, will extend theirs.



What comes in through one Bank will go out through others, and the equilibrium will be preserved. Should the Bank, for the mere purpose of producing distress, press its debtors more heavily than some of them can bear, the consequences will recoil upon itself, and in the attempts to embarrass the country, it will only bring loss and ruin upon the holders of its own stock. But if the President believed the Bank possessed all the power which has been attributed to it, his determination would only be rendered the more inflexible. If, indeed, this corporation now holds in its hands the happiness and prosperity of the American people, it is high time to take the alarm. If the despotism be already upon us, and our only safety is in the mercy of the despot, recent developments in relation to his designs and the means he employs show how necessary it is to shake it off. The struggle can never come with less distress to the people, or under more favourable auspices, than at the present moment.

p. All doubt as to the willingness of the State Banks to undertake the service of the Government, to the same extent, and on the same terms, as it is now performed by the Bank of the United States, is put to rest by the report of the agent recently employed to collect information; and from that willingness their own safety in the operation may be confidently inferred. Knowing their own resources better than they can be known by others, it is not to be supposed that they would be willing to place themselves in a situation which they cannot occupy without danger of annihilation or embarrassment. The only consideration applies to the safety of the public funds, if deposited in those institutions. And when it is seen that the directors of many of them are not only willing to pledge the character and capital of the corporations in giving success to this measure, but also their own property and reputation, we cannot doubt that they at least believe the public deposits would be safe in their management. The President thinks that these facts and circumstances afford as strong a guarantee as can be had in human affairs for the safety of the public funds, and the practicability of a new system of collection and disbursement through the agency of the State Banks.

q. From all these considerations, the President thinks that the State Banks ought immediately to be employed in the collection and disbursement of the public revenue, and the funds now in the Bank of the United States drawn out with all convenient dispatch. The safety of the public monies, if deposited in the State Banks, must be secured beyond all reasonable doubts; but the extent and nature of the security, in addition to their capital, if any be deemed necessary, is a subject of detail to which the Treasury Department will undoubtedly give its anxious attention. The Banks to be employed must remit the monies of the Government without charge, as the Bank of the United States now does; must render all the services which that Bank now performs; must keep the Government advised of their situation by periodical returns; in fine, with any arrangement with the State Banks, the Government must not, in any respect, be placed on a worse footing than it now is. The President is happy to perceive by the report of the agent, that the banks which he has consulted, have, in general, consented to perform the service on these terms, and that those in New York have further agreed to make payments in London without other charge than the mere cost of the bills of exchange.

r. It should also be enjoined on any banks which may be employed, that it will be expected of them to facilitate domestic exchanges for the benefit of internal commerce; to grant all reasonable facilities to the

payers of the revenue; to exercise the utmost liberality towards the other State banks; and to do nothing uselessly to embarrass the Bank of the United States.

s. As one of the most serious objections to the Bank of the United States is the power which it concentrates, care must be taken, in finding other agents for the service of the Treasury, not to raise up another power equally formidable. Although it would probably be impossible to produce such a result by any organization of the State Banks which could be devised, yet it is desirable to avoid even the appearance. To this end it would be expedient to assume no more power over them, and interfere no more in their affairs than might be absolutely necessary to the security of the public deposits, and the faithful performance of their duties as agents to the Treasury. Any interference by them in the political contests of the country, with a view to influence elections, ought, in the opinion of the President, to be followed by an immediate discharge from the public service.

t. It is the desire of the President that the control of the banks and the currency shall, as far as possible, be entirely separated from the political power of the country, as well as wrested from an institution which has already attempted to subject the Government to its will. In his opinion, the action of the General Government on this subject ought not to extend beyond the grant in the constitution, which only authorises Congress "to coin money and regulate the value thereof;" all else belongs to the States and the people, and must be regulated by public opinion and the interests of trade.

u. In conclusion, the President must be permitted to remark that he looks upon the pending question as of higher consideration than the mere transfer of a sum of money from one bank to another. Its decision may affect the character of our Government for ages to come. Should the Bank be suffered longer to use the public monies in the accomplishment of its purposes, with the proofs of its faithlessness and corruption before our eyes, the patriotic among our citizens will despair of success in struggling against its power, and we shall be responsible for entailing it upon our country for ever. Viewing it as a question of transcendent importance, both in the principles and consequences it involves, the President could not, in justice to the responsibility which he owes to the country, refrain from pressing upon the Secretary of the Treasury his view of the considerations which impel to immediate action. Upon him has been devolved, by the constitution and the suffrages of the American people, the duty of superintending the operation of the executive departments of the Government, and seeing that the laws are faithfully executed.

v. In the performance of this high trust it is his undoubted right to express to those whom the laws and his own choice have made his associates in the administration of the Government, his opinion of their duties, under circumstances as they arise. It is this right which he now exercises. Far be it from him to expect or require that any member of the Cabinet should, at his request, order, or dictation, do any act which he believes unlawful, or in his conscience condemns. From them, and from his fellow-citizens in general, he desires only that aid and support which their reason approves and their conscience sanctions.

w. In the remarks he has made on this all-important question, he trusts the Secretary of the Treasury will see only the frank and respectful declarations of the opinions which the President has formed on a measure

of great national interest, deeply affecting the character and usefulness of his administration; and not a spirit of dictation, which the President would be as careful to avoid as ready to resist. Happy will he be if the facts now disclosed produce uniformity of opinion and unity of action among the members of the administration.

x. The President again repeats, that he begs his Cabinet to consider the proposed measure as his own, in the support of which he shall require no one of them to make a sacrifice of opinion or principle. Its responsibility has been assumed, after the most mature deliberation and reflection, as necessary to preserve the morals of the people, the freedom of the press, and the purity of the elective franchise, without which all will unite in saying that the blood and treasure expended by our forefathers in the establishment of our happy system of government, will have been vain and fruitless. Under these convictions, he feels that a measure so important to the American people cannot be commenced too soon, and he therefore names the 1. day of October next as a period proper for the change of the deposits, or sooner, provided the necessary arrangements with the State Banks can be made.

#### ANDREW JACKSON.

191. When the Congress met in November, 1833, he announced to them his determination to pursue the course marked out in this letter to his cabinet. Every one knew the effect that that course must produce. The bank of the United States had in circulation notes to the amount of nearly 70,428,070 dollars; for it had, as we see in the cabinet letter, extended its issues by 28 millions of dollars, in addition to what it had out before it prepared for the struggle against the President. Before that, it had out notes to the amount of 42,402,304 dollars. Between January 1831 and May 1832, it put out an additional 28,025,776 dollars, though the bank had been apprized, that it was the intention of the government to apply the deposits as fast as possible to clear off the remainder of the public debt. This additional 28,000,000 were applied to the hiring of newspapers by the means of discounts; to the bribing of needy men in every direction; and to the giving of extraordinary time for the payment of the notes lent for this nefarious purpose. The parties thus borrowing of the bank saw ruin staring them in the face, if the charter were not renewed; and this made them intrigue and work in all sorts of ways, to prevent the re-election of the President, because if he were re-elected the charter would not be renewed. If, however, the President were elected, perilous indeed was the state of the bank; for, with its immense issues, it would be utterly unable to give up the deposits to enable the nation to pay off its debt. By a reference to paragraphs r, s, t, and u, of the letter, the reader will see the nature of the nefarious transactions which the bank resorted to in conjunc-

tion with its allies in England; and he will see how necessary it was, even for the support of the independence of the country, that a man like this should be placed at the head of its affairs.

192. It will be easily imagined, that the re-election of the president (in the fall of 1832), which, let it be observed, expressed decidedly the opinion of the people in support of his views as to the bank; it will be easily imagined what confusion this must have created in the camp of the paper-money makers. That confusion extended itself into every part of the union instantly; for that system of having "branch banks," which has been imitated by our big bank in England, had placed the whole country under the command of the big bank in America. The strife at the election was prodigious; but the industrious part of the community, long oppressed by the crafty robbery of the banks, had the sense to perceive, that to be delivered from this worst of tyranny they must stand by the President; they had the virtue to stand by him, and their efforts were crowned with success.

193. At the time appointed by himself he removed the deposits from the bank; that is to say, in the month of October, 1833; the bank was compelled to draw in its issues; compelled to withhold its discounts; its branches were compelled to do the same; and the consequence has been, bankruptcies all over the country; a tremendous bursting of the bubble, a return, in great part already, to hard money; a sweeping away of banks, bankers, and clerks; a cessation of the robbery of the industrious, and of sustaining innumerable idlers upon the fruit of their toil. Our intelligence comes down to the 16th of February, 1834, at which time numerous deputations and delegations of merchants, of manufacturers, of master mechanics, had been to the president to supplicate a relaxation of his determination and proceedings. To all he has given the uniform answer: that the happiness of his country, the preservation of its constitution and its liberties, its independence of foreign nations, command him to persevere; and that to persevere he is determined, and that nothing upon earth shall make him alter that determination.

194. In England it was said, and generally believed, from the month of November last until very recently (March, 1834), that he would be induced or compelled to yield. Knowing the monster with which he had to contend, I myself had fears upon the subject; but I had not then read that account of his life which I now have read; and an abridgment and remoulding of which I now submit to my own countrymen. If I had read

that life before, I should have had no fear at all; and by whomsoever that life shall be read, not a shadow of doubt can be entertained that the president will never cease his efforts till he has totally suppressed that fraudulent, that robbing, that accursed paper-money, which has steeped England in her present troubles, and her more than half revolution, and which would in a short time, in a very few years, have compelled the United States to resort to another revolution, or to have abandoned and levelled with the earth every institution and every law which have been made for the purpose of preserving the independence and the liberties of the country.

### PERSON AND CHARACTER OF THE PRESIDENT.

195. We are naturally curious to know something about the mere person of a man who has performed such wonderful exploits. Philosophers may say what they will about the man consisting solely of the mind. Human nature will not have it so. It will, in spite of philosophers, give a good deal of weight to the person by whom a thing is done. Jackson has this advantage also. His friend and brother senator, and neighbour, Mr. Eaton, tells us, that he has nothing of the robust or the elegant; that he is six feet and an inch high; that he is remarkably straight and spare; that he weighs not more than a hundred and forty-five pounds (what a poor thing compared to our George the Fourth!); that his conformation appears to disqualify him for hardship; that, however, accustomed to it from early life, few are capable of enduring so much fatigue, or with so little injury; that his dark-blue eyes, beneath his high and broad forehead, and loaded with brows somewhat heavy, when excited by any cause, sparkle with peculiar lustre of penetration; that in his manners he is pleasing, while his address is commanding; that in his deportment he is easy, affable and familiar; that during his whole life it has been his study to honour merit, find it in whom he might; that honest poverty has always been respected by him, while he has turned his back on dishonest wealth; that he was never known to discover the existence of distress without seeking to assist and to relieve it; that no man ever saw him irritated on account of a selfish purpose; and that no man ever saw his bosom swell with rage or with anger, except against the enemies of his country, open or secret.

196. The portrait, which is prefixed to the head of this work, gives us, I dare say, a pretty accurate description of the person.

of this celebrated man; and that the person itself may exist until he has delivered his country from the monster which has so long been tearing it to pieces, is the present prayer of

WM. COBBETT.

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### POSTSCRIPT.

197. I thought I had, in the dedication or the preface, done justice to the Irish people, relative to the deeds of this famous man, who sprang from amongst them. But, having since looked into the peerage of Pakenham, and finding what he was; what honours had been heaped upon him, who died in the midst of disgrace unparalleled: for, all the disgrace was his, as all the honour would have been his. The valour that takes a man up to an intrenchment, or makes him the first to enter a breach, is of a character not a thousandth part equal to that of a bulldog. Many hundreds of his soldiers went nearer to the mouths of the American muskets than he did: it is the valour which discovers itself in cool moments and day-after-day reflections, and comes, at last, to conclusions, such as are in so many, many instances, recorded of this famous American General. My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers; at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents. The circumstances stated by me relative to this matter are very striking; but, until I saw the peerage of the antagonist whom he laid sprawling upon the ground; until I saw this peerage; this bragging, this boasting peerage, I had not the means of making the contrast so striking as it ought to have been made. Let us take him, then, as he is described by the heralds of his family, copied from the peerage itself. It is a thing for eternal laughter; a thing which every democrat should have about him, and when he has read it, he will not forget to exclaim: All this was smashed to pieces in a moment by the son of poor Irish emigrant parents, the mother of whom had urged this son to avenge the cause of Ireland.

198. I will now insert from the peerage, and when I have done that, I shall have some remarks to add:

199. "*William de Pakenham* was resident at Pakenham, co. Suffolk, *temp.* Edward I.; his eldest son, Sir Edmund Pakenham, *m., templ.* Edward II., Rose, daughter and co-heir of Robert de Valines, from whom descended Sir Hugh Pakenham, who *d. temp.* Henry VII., leaving issue, 1. Sir John Pakenham, whose only daughter and sole heir, Constance, carried the estate of Lordington, co. Sussex, to her husband Sir Geoffry de la Pole, knight, second son of Sir Richard de la Pole, K.G., by Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, only daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.; 2. *Nicholas*, ancestor of the *Earls of Longford*; 3. Anne, *m.* Sir William Sydney, knight banneret, by whom she was mother of Sir Henry Sydney, K.G., lord deputy of Ireland. Sir Edward Pakenham, *knt.*, grandson of Nicholas, accompanied his cousin, Sir Henry Sydney, to Ireland, 1576, whose grandson, Henry Pakenham, was seated at Pakenham Hall, co. Westmeath, *temp.* Charles II., and was father of Sir Thomas Pakenham, *knt.*, of Pakenham Hall, prime serjeant at law, 1695, whose son and heir, Edward Pakenham, of Pakenham Hall, knight of the shire co. Westmeath, 1713, was father of
200. "*Thomas Pakenham*, 1st lord, *b.* May 1713, *m.*, March 5, 1739, Elizabeth, sole heiress of Michael Cuffe, *esq.*, nephew and heir of Ambrose Aungier, last earl of Longford, and in right of his wife was created, 1756, baron of *Longford*, and had issue by her (who was created July 5, 1785, countess of *Longford*), 1. *Edward-Michael*, 2nd lord; 2. Robert, in the army, who *d. unm.*, 1775; 3. William, *d. young*; 4. Thomas, *b.* 1757, an admiral of the white, *m.* 1785, Louisa, daughter of the right hon. John Staples, and has issue six sons and four daughters; 5. Elizabeth, *b.* 1742; 6. Frances, *m.* June 1776, John Ormsby Vandeleur, *esq.*, and *d.* 1779, leaving issue, 7. Helena, *m.* June 1768, William Sherlock, of Sherlockstown, *esq.*, and *d.* 1774, leaving issue by him (who *d.* 1788), Mary, *m.* 1770, Thomas Fortescue, *esq.*, and *d.* 1775, leaving issue. His lordship *d.* April 20, 1776, and was succeeded by his son,
201. "*Edward-Michael*, 2nd lord, *b.* April 1, 1743, *m.*, June 25, 1768, Catharine 2nd daughter of the right hon. Hercules Longford Rowley, by Elizabeth, viscountess Longford, and by her, (who *d.* March 12, 1816) had issue, 1. *Thomas*, present earl; 2. *Sir Edward Michael*, G. C. B., major-general in the army, and colonel 6th West India regiment, who, Nov. 8, 1813, received the unanimous thanks of both

" *Houses of Parliament*, for the valour, steadiness, and exertion, " so successfully displayed by him, in repelling the repeated " attacks made on the positions of the allied army by the whole " of the *French* force under the command of *Marshal Soult*, " between the 25th of July, and 1st of August; *b.* March 19, " 1778, killed in action near *New Orleans*, in America, Jan. 8, " 1815, to whose memory a monument is erected in the cathe- " dral of *St. Paul*; at the public expense; 3. *Hercules-Robert*, " *C. B.*, *b.* Sept. 29, 1781, lieut.-colonel in the army, severely " wounded at *Badajos*, 1812, *m.* Dec. 1817, *Emily Stapleton*, " daughter of *Thomas*, Lord *Le Despencer*; 4. *William*, *b.* Sept. " 20, 1782, captain *R. N.* who was unfortunately drowned in " his majesty's frigate *Saldana*, near *Lough Swilly*, Ireland, Dec. " 4, 1811; 5. *Henry*, in holy orders, *b.* Aug. 23, 1787; 6. " *Elizabeth*, *b.* Sept. 1769, *m.* *Henry Stewart*, esq.; 7. *Mary* " *d.* 1787; 8. *Catharine m.*, April 10, 1806, field-marshal *Ar-* " *thur*, Duke of *Wellington*, *K. G.*, *K. T. S.*, and *K. F.*, brother " to *Richard*, Marquis of *Wellesley*, *K. G.*, *K. C.*, and *K. L. S.* " (*See Duke of Wellington, in the Peerage of England, and* " *Marquis of Wellesley, in the Peerage of Ireland*); 9. *Helen*; " 10. *Caroline-Penelope*. His lordship *d.* June 3, 1792, when " his son,

202. " *Thomas* succeeded to the barony, and on the death of " his grandmother, Jan. 1794, he succeeded to the earldom, " and is the present peer.

203. " *Heir-apparent*—Lord *Pakenham*, the earl's only son.

204. " *Creations*—Baron *Pakenham*, 1756; Earl, June 20, 1785.

205. " *Motto*—*Gloria virtutis umbra*—Glory is the shadow " of virtue."

206. Here is a pretty story : here is a rigmårole : this is the sort of way in which the base part of mankind are held in subjection. Here is as great a piece of work in recording the lineage of this gang of people, as if each individual of them had performed exploits equal to those of *Jackson*. Why, it must give one pleasure; it must fill one with delight, to see such contemptible rubbish brought to the test, and to be proved to be not worth a straw. We see here that our particular hero had received the unanimous thanks of the House of Commons. And for what was it? For his valour, &c. in repelling repeated attacks made on the positions of the allied army. This is a very unsatisfactory description. Here is no deed done; no strong place captured; no army beaten, but merely attacks repelled. Very doubtful words; and a pretty House of Commons it must have been, to have voted its unanimous thanks to a man upon grounds



so very equivocal; and, indeed, who does not perceive that if he had been the son of a common man he would have had no thanks at all? Yes, yes: the "*French force*:" he could do very well with the *French force*; but it was another matter when he came to do with an American force, though it was only about a seventh part of his own.

207. Mark, too, the curious way in which his death is mentioned; "*Killed in action*, near New Orleans, in America, January 8th, 1815, to whose memory a monument is erected in the cathedral of St. Paul, at the public expense." Now observe, first, that you do not know whether he was commander or not; second, whether those on his side were the victors or not; third, whether it was a battle fought for the purpose of taking New Orleans or for defending it, or whether it was for any other object: but taking into view the fact immediately following, that he had a monument erected immediately to his memory in St. Paul's, at the public expense; and is there one single man in this world, who, being unacquainted with the facts, would not believe that he lost his life in the arms of victory in a battle which happened to take place near the city of New Orleans, in America. Thus it is that the people of England have been basely betrayed and insulted and cheated. Not one man in ten thousand, or in fifty thousand, knows to this day that this Packenham was *selected* for this enterprise; that the army and the navy were all ready, long before his arrival; that they waited for that arrival to begin operations; that the force was so great, the supplies so large; so superabundant in every respect; an outfit costing *more than a million of money*, and this for the double object, of carrying the city, and of puffing Packenham into a lord. And what did he do when he got there? The very things that Jackson wanted him to do; and, at last, after having given Jackson one specimen of his ability at *assaulting*, he really put all to the hazard of an assault; but, curious to relate, not one hour before Jackson was perfectly ready for him. He had intelligence constantly from the city: he knew precisely the situation of Jackson: he knew that his whole force, his whole alliance was but about three thousand men, armed with muskets and rifles. He was duly apprized that these men were stationed behind a parapet of bags of cotton and of barrels of sugar and of flour, but particularly the former: he could see with his glasses the cotton-bales, as plainly as I can see this paper: he knew that rifles were behind them; and he had the stupidity to believe that the Yankees would run away at the approach of his glittering army, and leave that army to vault over

the cotton-bags. Common sense dictated to him to erect batteries, and to tear away at the parapet; to annoy, to fatigue, to exhaust; to take the chances of successful rebellion against Jackson; at any rate there was one thing which was down-right madness, and that was what he did. To march up in columns, close to the cotton-bags, carry scaling ladders to climb up with, and to imagine that he was in the face of those Yankees thus going to get over these cotton-bags. Every man of common-sense must have known, that certain death would come pouring over those cotton-bags. When the columns approached, all was still on Jackson's side of the cotton-bags: not a shot was fired: not the smallest demonstration of resistance shown: the columns marched up to within a few yards of the edge of the ditch: then came the bullets: then came the buck-shot: then came the destructive contents of the rifles; and the plain was instantly covered with the dead. Jackson had more men than he had rifles and muskets. Those who had no arms loaded for those who had arms; so that the fire was one incessant volley; and out of the four generals, the chief fell dead, and two others were dangerously wounded. I dare say that the moment Jackson saw those columns marching over the plain to come up to his parapet, that he felt as sure of the result as he did after it had taken place. This was a something to make the nation pay for a monument for this man, and in St. Paul's too. But it is no matter: if a commander belongs to any of these people, beaten or not beaten, so that he die, he is sure to have a monument to his memory at the people's expense, in order to keep up the blaze of these families. It was well for this poor fellow that he was killed: if he could have made shift to hobble off with his beating, I have no question that he would have had the thanks of the House of Commons, as I believe Cockburn had, for his work on the coast of Virginia.

208. Burke called nobility "the cheap defence of nations." Look at our half-pay list; look at our pension-list; look at the retired allowance list; look at this very family of Pakenham. We find that this man had nine brothers and sisters; one a lieutenant-colonel in the army; one a captain in the navy; one in the church: so far for the men; and as to the women, I could be bound to find them all out if I had time; but we know that one of them was the wife of Wellington. A pretty dearish defence of nations, I should think, all this. But, not to waste any more words upon the subject, here we have all this swaggering nobility, this hunting down from "*William de Pakenham*," in

the time of Edward the First to the present time ; and only think of their publishing their mottoes : “ *Gloria virtutis umbra*,” that is to say, “ *Glory is the shadow of virtue*” ; a saying which we can hardly understand the meaning of ; but the more senseless, the more it excites the cogitating wonderment of stupid and base people. When a public robber gets into a carriage with three or four Latin words written on it, and with the other insignia which he chooses to have put, all the base part of the people, and that is not a small part, look upon him as something or other a wonderful deal better than themselves. Now, unless this feeling be changed : unless the people be cured of this baseness, nothing that can be done by men, even the most able and industrious and zealous, will ever render them better off than they now are. However, that which I have here exhibited, will do real good in America ; it will make the people there resolve to guard against all the crafty and subtle approaches of aristocracy, which has always been begun by suffering wealth to be drawn into a small number of hands. When once that is done, then the titling work begins ; and then come all the curses upder which we are now labouring. I shall be told that I have always been an advocate for a government of king, lords, and commons, and for bishops seated amongst the lords. Now, this is very true ; and my argument always has been that those things could not be bad in their nature, along with which co-existed such wise and just laws ; so much freedom, so much power, possessed by so comparatively small a country ; and such an immense mass of national resources of all sorts, together with a degree of reputation for integrity, frankness and all public virtue, never surpassed by any other nation, and, indeed, never any thing like equalled.

209. Well, then, ought you not to cherish these orders now ? Are they not what they always were ? Have we not still dukes, marquises, earls, just as in the time of . . . . . ? Stop : yes, my friend, we have dukes, marquises, earls, and so forth still ; but those that we have now are no more like those in former times, than a French crab is like a Newtown pippin ; or than a Catherine peach (many degrees baser than a white turnip) is like a *French mignon* or an early *Montauban*. A peach is a peach ; and as words, mere words, are quite sufficient for the more numerous and baser part of mankind, to keep the word is all that has been thought necessary.

210. Well, but in *what* do the present lords differ from the lords of former times ? In *every thing* ; except in the shape of

their bodies, and the manner of receiving their nutriment, though even in this latter I do not know that I am not admitting too much. The people of England, when called out in the wars, and especially in defence of their country, were commanded by the lords; and observe, the lords found them their arms, and their clothing, and their provisions, and their money for the service; out of their own pockets and estates. It was the business of the lords, *each one to protect his people from wrong*; to see that they had fair play; they were their advocates in courts of justice; pleading their causes in their persons, and *always for nothing*. There was no such thing as a tax for a poor or working man to pay, nor ever heard of to pay, of any sort or kind. The bishops and abbots were in parliament to take care that the poor were not plundered of their patrimony; and *thus it was that nobility was "the cheap defence of nations."*

211. What do we behold now? Every great family, as it is called, not paying for warriors to come forth to defend the country; *but making the people pay them*, men, women, and children, to the amount of thousands, and thousands upon thousands! In short, it is a prodigious band of spungers, living upon the labour of the industrious part of the community, and making the people pay them, and men that they enlist; the object of having such men in pay and armed with bayonets, can be hidden from nobody in this world but an idiot: a nobility, not paying the people to come out, and furnishing them with arms and ammunition, and clothing them, to defend the country; but a nobility, actually living upon the sweat of the people, and passing laws at the same time, to transport the very same people, if caught in pursuit of pheasant, partridge, or hare! While (oh, gracious God!) these same people, still calling themselves nobility, are breeding those wild animals for the purpose of feeding the wretches in London whom they support in the demanding and the receiving of the fruit of three days' work instead of one!

212. However, either the people of England see all this, or they do not: if the latter, they are too blind to have the character of humanity imputed to them; they are absolutely brutes; for brutes any treatment is good enough, so that it does not lacerate, starve, or knock on the head. If the people of England do see it in its true light; and yet, if they think nothing of these things, compared with corn-bill nonsense, or HEDDEKA-SHUN; if this be their taste; if they throw away the substance

to amuse themselves with the shadow, and will elect *Captain Swallow-Pension* and reject a man that scorns to deceive them; then let them suffer; and my consolation is, that *I will not suffer along with them!*

WM. COBBETT.

FINIS.

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